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## Near East/South Asia Report



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5 April 1984

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NATION'S HISTORIC RIGHTS IN BORDER DISPUTE WITH ISRAEL REVIEWED

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 3094, 27 Jan 84 pp 27-29

[Article by Dr Ibrahim Skakib: "The Historic Roots of the Taba Crisis"]

[Text] For every thousand pages published on wars, less than a single page is published directly on the causes of peace, although the causes of war cannot logically be separated from those of peace, indeed, the two are interconnected and interlinked. For this reason, one can say that a sound diagnosis of peace will of necessity lead to a sound diagnosis of war.

If we try to apply the logic behind this statement to the problem of Taba, we will find that it is primarily a border problem which Israel created, following its withdrawal from Sinai on 25 April 1982, in execution of the treaty of peace between itself and Egypt, by its obstinate presence at point 91 on [what was] the international border between Egypt and Palestine at the time of the mandate, which does not exceed 1 square kilometer in area. This is known as Wadi Taba.

"Border dispute" is a general expression which includes many situations, including disputes based on differences over the division of border areas or their mapping and demarcation. Disputes can flare up over of old regional demands.

Border disputes occupy a distinguished place in the study of international relations. Territorial unity has psychological, economic, strategic and political importance, and the dimensions of this importance vary as countries, positions and circumstances vary. National dignity might require the sacrifice of much for the sake of regaining a square inch of a country's land, which will constitute a burden for it and not amount to any importance worth mentioning in other respects.

#### Types of Border Disputes

Border disputes which have been raised in modern times can be broken down into four types:

The first type: This includes disputes which are raised over borders that are not recognized and whose condition is not regulated by a treaty between

the parties concerned so that it would be possible to rule on the basis of the treaty and be guided by its provisions, in the case of a dispute.

The second type: This is where there is a demarcation of the borders which has been recognized by all the parties concerned but there is a dispute over the execution of this demarcation under actual conditions.

The third type: This is where there are two conflicting delineations of borders, which are sometimes derived from different treaties, and this stirs up a dispute over which of the two delineations is the legitimate one.

The fourth type: This involves actual borders, or borders resulting from a fait accompli, whether delineated on a map or by a treaty, or merely mapped out in natural conditions, where one of the parties questions the legitimacy of the borders.

It is not possible, of course, to list each dispute under one of the four types of dispute mentioned above; rather, the types may overlap with one another.

If we view what is happening in Wadi Taba in light of the four types mentioned above, we will observe immediately that Israel is following the second type, in order to arrive, in accordance with a fait accompli, at the fourth and final type.

What is the judgment of history on this matter?

By referring to a valuable book on the ancient and modern history of Sinai which was issued on 27 March 1916, that is, about 66 years before the current problem of Taba arose, by the author Na'um Bey Shuqayr, the director of historians at the Egyptian Ministry of War since 1889, who worked as a secretary to the Egyptian committee which was delegated to define the eastern borders of Sinai with the Ottoman committee after the border incident of 1906 erupted (that is, when the events were at their most heated), we may learn a group of historic facts which must be dealt with in detail:

#### The 1906 Incident

"It is well known that the decree Sultan Mahmud the Second issued to Muhammad 'Ali Pasha in 1841 ensconcing him in Egypt and making the regime hereditary within his family was accompanied by a map in which Egypt's eastern border was defined by a line extending from al-'Arish to Suez. The Sublime Porte sometimes cites this map. However, this map had no influence in Egypt or Istanbul. The Egyptian government did not recognize the abovementioned border, and indeed made Egypt's eastern border a straight line extending from Rafah about 28 miles from al-'Arish to the south of al-Wajh Fort, bringing all Sinai into it along with the forts of al-'Aqabah, Diba, al-Muwaylih and al-Wajh, on grounds that it had run Sinai and these forts and protected them with its military forces before the Decree of 1841. Then, when it handed over the forts of the al-Hijaz from al-Wajh to al-'Aqabah in 1887-1892, it turned its eastern border into a direct line extending from Rafah to the head of the Gulf of al-'Aqabah.



"Therefore, when 'Abbas Hilmi Pasha received a decree from Sultan 'Abd-al-Hamid, and he extracted Sinai Peninsula from him, Egypt proceeded to demand its rights, and Britain supported it and stopped the reading of the decree until the telegram of Jawad Pasha, the prime minister, dated 8 April 1892, was received, putting Egypt in charge of the administration of Sinai and leaving what had already existed in its place. Egypt accepted that decree and the telegram supplementing it.

"Then, in order to prevent a misunderstanding in the future, Ambassador Evelyn Baring (Lord Cromer), who was the British government's accredited representative in Egypt, sent a memorandum to Tigran Pasha, the overseer of the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs at that time, on 13 April 1892, stating 'Nothing in the decrees stipulating the relations between the Sublime Porte and Egypt may be changed without the approval of the British government. The administration of the Sinai Peninsula, that is, the territory delineated to the east by a line extending to the southeast of a point a short distance to the east of al-'Arish to the Gulf of al-'Aqabah will continue to be in the hands of Egypt. With respect to the fort lying east of this line, that will be under the jurisdiction of the al-Hijaz.' Lord Cromer sent this memorandum officially to the British ambassador in Istanbul, and the ambassador conveyed it to the Sublime Porte, also sending a copy of it, with copies of all the correspondence which took place on the decree of assumption of jurisdiction, to the other countries, which acknowledged their acceptance of it. As regards the Sublime Porte, it did not reply to it in the negative or the affirmative.

#### The Umm Rashrash Incident

["] The issue lay dormant by the nature of things until Mr Bromley, a Britisher, was named inspector of the peninsula in 1905 and began an administrative reform. Some local newspapers spread about an item of news to the effect that the British had sent their men to Sinai to build fortresses on its borders and for that reason the governor of Syria sent a telegram to this effect to the sultan, asking Egypt to call the British troops back from the borders. Egypt answered him by denying this rumor.

"Then Egypt was informed that the sultan had ordered the establishment of a military post at 'Ayn al-Qusaymah and another one at Mashash al-Kuntilla in Wadi al-Jarafi. Both places lay within the Sinai border. The sultan had established a new regional directorate in 1899 at Beersheba, and Egypt proceeded to watch its movements along the borders at 'Ayn Sahirah. In January 1906, it issued its order to Mr Bromley, the inspector of Sinai Peninsula, to put a police guard at Naqab al-'Aqabah to oversee the borders, and Mr Bromley went with some policemen to Ra's al-Naqab. When he did not find sufficient water there, he went to Umm Rashrash at the foot of al-Naqab, on the western side of the head of the Gulf of al-'Aqabah. At that time Maj Gen Rushdi Pasha, who had fought in Yemen, was in al-'Aqabah Fort, and he went to Umm Rashrash and asked Mr Bromley most politely to draw back from it. He withdrew and conveyed the matter to the government of Egypt, which asked the sultan to appoint a committee of Turks and Egyptians to define the borders between Sinai and Syria for once and for all, but he refused.

## The Taba Incident

"The Egyptian government was disturbed by this refusal and sent a body of soldiers with Brig Gen Sa'd Bey Rif'at, the commander of Sinai, to occupy Wadi Taba. Rushdi Pasha had previously sent a guard of soldiers to that watercourse. Sa'd Bey said:

"When the ship brought us to the port of Taba, I saw the Turkish troops deployed on the hills overlooking Taba from the east, and their commander, at the rank of lieutenant colonel, standing on the shore. I ordered the soldiers to prepare to disembark and went ahead of them to him. I greeted this commander and he said, "What is happening?" I said, "I have brought some Egyptian troops to occupy Taba." He said, "Taba is within the boundaries of al-'Aqabah, and is part of it, and I will not allow anyone to disembark there." I said, "Taba is actually within the boundaries of the peninsula (he meant the Sinai Peninsula), and I stayed there myself with the troops when al-'Aqabah was evacuated in 1892, for 9 months, and dug this well there," and I pointed that out to him. While I was discussing that with him, Mr Bromley appeared on land from Nakhal, on Wadi Tuwaybah, and joined with us in the discussion. The Turkish commander held to his statement that he would resist us if we caused the troops to disembark and his troops were deployed about the hills, and directed their fire toward us. We considered that it would be best to avoid bloodshed and went back to the ship, disembarked at Far'un Island, about 2 miles from Taba, then sent the news to our government and stayed waiting for its orders.

"On 17 February 1906 the order was issued to Capt Phipps Hornby, the commander of the cruiser Diana in Suez, to go to Far'un Island to protect the troops who had disembarked there and prevent the Turkish troops from infiltrating into Sinai. I was issued the order to accompany this cruiser as an emissary of intelligence, and we reached Far'un Island in the evening of 18 February. The morning of the following day, the cruiser brought us to al-'Aqabah. Col Parker Bey, the assistant director of Egyptian intelligence, came to Far'un Island and accompanied us to al-'Aqabah. On passing through Taba we saw the Turkish troops still occupying that watercourse. Capt Hornby anchored the cruiser far off the coast and told me, "Would you disembark and give my greetings to Maj Gen Rushdi Pasha, and tell him that I came to visit him in his place and would like to salute the fort with artillery fire, if he answers the greeting." He ordered a dinghy for me and I went on land with it, and found on the pier a Turkish officer of the rank of major general, tall, pale and blue eyed, with a large moustache, with an officer who was his interpreter and aide de camp. The major general's face went pale and his hands trembled, indicating that he was severely affected. I greeted him and said, "Could I talk to Rushdi Pasha, the commander of this position?" He said, in a hoarse voice, "Yes, I am Rushdi Pasha. Who are you and what business does this cruiser have?" I said, "I am an official of the Egyptian War [Ministry] and that is a British cruiser, and I have come to you from its commander with a message," which I conveyed. He said, "If he wants to visit me, let him be so kind to do so, but couldn't he find something smaller than this cruiser with which to make the visit? As for the fort, there is no artillery in it to return the greeting, because it was destroyed a long time ago, and we are now using it as a storehouse for grain and supplies."

"I returned to Capt Hornby with this response. He embarked on the cruiser's launch, Parker Bey and the narrator of this story embarked on it with him, and we came to visit Rushdi Pasha, who received us on the pier, with the signs of the effects still apparent on his face. We sat down under the shade of the date palm near the pier, and a conversation went on concerning the basis of the dispute. Rushdi Pasha considered Mr Bromley's disembarkation at Umm Rashrash a provocation of the [Ottoman] government, and said that Taba and al-Naqab were governed from al-'Aqabah, so they belonged to it, and had to be annexed to it for the sake of its safety. We told him "It is well known to the government of Egypt that the east of the gulf belongs to al-'Aqabah, and the west of it belongs to Sinai. Egypt's troops already occupied Taba for a number of months following the evacuation of al-'Aqabah, and we abandoned it only because of its remoteness and the roughness of the road to it. Your occupation of Taba and al-Naqab before the official demarcation of the borders between the government and Egypt is to be considered a provocation of Egypt." Capt Hornby said, "I am now returning to Far'un Island, and I will remain there until a committee is sent to define the borders." Then we said goodbye to him and left.

"The following day, Rushdi Pasha's aide de camp came to us in a sailboat, which was the only one in al-'Aqabah, and said that news had been received from Istanbul that Mukhtar Pasha al-Ghazi was coming to al-'Aqabah to define the borders. Then the vessel Nur al-Bahr appeared from Suez, bearing the news that the two governments had reached agreement to send representatives to define the borders and that the government's representatives were officers from al-'Aqabah and two officers from Istanbul, Ahmad Muzaffar Bey and Muhammad Fahmi Bey, who had left Istanbul for Egypt. Egypt's representatives were Brig Gen Awin Bey, the director of intelligence, Maj Gen Isma'il Pasha Sarhank, the deputy minister of war, and Brig Gen Sa'd Bey Rif'at, the commander of Sinai. Capt Hornby asked me to go on the boat to Rushdi Pasha and inform him of this news. I went to him on the morning of 26 February and informed him of that. We then started to talk about the borders in an unofficial capacity, and I said, "I consider that the people Egyptians [sic] will demand that Taba be evacuated before a start is made on defining the borders. Therefore it would be very good if you would advise that this watercourse be evacuated before the demand is officially presented."

#### The Rafah Incident

"In addition, the Turks, after occupying Taba, had sent some of the troops to occupy Rafah, and they eliminated the two border markers from their place under the lotus tree, uprooted the Egyptian telegraph poles between Bi'r Rafah and the road to Bi'r Rufayh, put Turkish markers in their place, and erected their tents on the border of Egypt between the lotus tree and the Rufayh road. When the news reached the Egyptian government, it ordered the British cruiser Minerva in Port Said to proceed at once to Rafah to investigate the news. The sublime [Ottoman] government requested that most of the country around al-'Aqabah be annexed to Syria by drawing a line from al-'Arish to Suez and from there to Naqab al-'Aqabah so that what was east of that line would belong to it and the rest would belong to Egypt. When Egypt refused to review this demand, it proceeded to demand that Sinai Peninsula be divided in two by a straight line from al-'Arish to Ra's Muhammad and



that the western part be allotted to Egypt and the eastern part to the [Ottoman] government. Egypt refused to review that request as well and insisted on the line the decree of 'Abbas Hilmi Pasha had set out, from Rafah to al-'Aqabah.

#### Britain's Final Notice to Turkey

"Britain thought that acceptance of Turkey's demands, with its most recent expansion, was a threat to the freedom of the canal, and the overseer of its Foreign Ministry, Sir Edward Gray, indicated [that] to its ambassador in Istanbul, Sir Nicholas O'Connor, who presented a final notice to the Supreme Porte on 3 May inviting him to respond to Britain's demands within 10 days. These demands were:

"1. The evacuation of Taba.

"2. The return of the Rafah troops to their border.

"3. The return of the two border markers at Rafah to their place.

"This notice also stated that if the Sublime Porte did not offer the required satisfaction, Britain would be compelled to resort to force.

"The ambassadors of France and Russia in Istanbul supported Britain's demands, and the latter proceeded to prepare for emergency in Egypt, Sinai and Istanbul.

"In addition, it was well known to people who were informed about the intrinsic reality of things that it was Germany that had provoked Turkey to conceal the events of the border issue and instigated it to resist for an intrinsic purpose. It is plain that Germany's preparedness had not yet been completed and its ambassador to Istanbul advised the sultan to surrender to Britain's demands. The sultan did surrender to Britain's demands and he issued his order for the troops to depart from Taba, and the troops of Rafah went back to their border. They had broken up the two border markers, and the order was given to the administrator at Beersheba and the administrator at Gaza to eliminate the matter, so they appeared in Rafah and dug up two markers from the ruins in Rafah, one of black granite 6 feet long and another of gray granite 4 meters long, and put them up under the lotus tree near the site of the first two markers.

"On 14 May 1906 Tawfiq Pasha, the prime minister, sent the following message to Ambassador Nicholas O'Connor, Britain's ambassador to Istanbul, whose text follows:

"Your Excellency the Ambassador:

"I have had the honor to receive the memorandum which you were so generous to send me on the 12th of this month regarding the occupation of Taba.

"Permit me to inform you that it did not at all occur to the imperial government to violate the substance of the telegram sent by the late Jawad



Pasha to his highness the khedive on 8 April 1892. Nonetheless, the message which I had the honor to send you on the 11th of this month was totally clear. The evacuation of Taba has been stipulated and orders have been issued to that effect.

"The opinion has been rendered to the effect that the officers of the war staff who are now present in al-'Aqabah and the officials who were delegated by his excellency the khedive should pass together over the necessary places to conduct technical inspections as required by topographical rules, examine the map of the natural points which will guarantee the present situation, keep the old one where it is on Sinai Peninsula, in accordance with the rule which Jawad Pasha had set forth in the abovementioned telegram, and draw up a line for the borders, starting with Rafah close to al-'Arish and heading southeast on a direct line approximately to a point on the Gulf of al-'Aqabah which is at least 8 miles from al-'Aqabah, so that the wishes which your excellency expressed in your abovementioned message will have been fully realized.

"In addition, we ask your excellency to convey that to London, and we hope that the government of his majesty the king will thus see new proof of our intense desire that the preservation of relations between us will be continually maintained on foundations of total affection and that your majesty's government's expression of its total satisfaction with that will be proof of the value it attaches to the maintenance and strengthening of the good relations which fortunately exist between the two governments, sir.

"[Signed] Tawfiq.

"The Committee to Set the Borders.'

"On the basis of this, the Sublime Porte's orders were issued to the Ottoman representatives in al-'Aqabah to meet up with the persons Egypt delegated to define the boundary line. A change was made in the members of the committee which Egypt delegated, for health reasons, and it was reconstituted to include Brig Gen Awin Bey, the director of intelligence, Maj Gen Ibrahim Pasha Fathi, who was in retirement at that time, and Na'um Shuqayr, who was to function as secretary for the Egyptian committee.

"This is a copy of the sublime order issued on this subject:

"May happiness follow Ibrahim Pasha Fathi, and may honor follow Brig Gen Awin Bey:

"Our will has required that you be appointed, and Mr Na'um Bey Shuqayr be appointed with you as secretary to settle the borders between al-'Aqabah and Rafah, in conjunction with the officers appointed by the sublime government for this purpose, who are now in al-'Aqabah. We have given you absolute authority to carry out the modest changes in the borders which you consider to be agreeable, with the objective of facilitating the administration for both sides, in agreement with the abovementioned representatives of the sublime government. This demarcation line will start at Rafah close to al-'Arish and will go southeast until it ends at a point on the Gulf of al-'Aqa-

bah which is at least 3 miles from al-'Aqabah, and it will be a curved line which is almost straight. Therefore we have issued this order of ours to you, in order to act with respect to it.

"22 May 1906.

"Seal of 'Abbas Hilmi.'

"Accompanying the Egyptian committee were Mr Killan and Mr Weed, British engineers from the Egyptian Survey Department, to draw up a technical map of the borders from al-'Aqabah to Rafah, the administrator Brockinridge Bey, a British doctor from the Medical Department of the Egyptian army, Mr Efensy, a British clerk working in the Intelligence Department in Egypt, and Yusuf Bey Samih, a Turkish interpreter and official of the Office of the War Superintendent in Egypt.

"The members of the Egyptian committee set out from Egypt on Thursday 24 May 1906 for al-'Aqabah by sea, and they reached Far'un Island on the evening of Saturday the 26th of that month. On the morning of the following day, we went to al-'Aqabah and were met on the pier by Maj Gen Rushdi Pasha and his new aide de camp, War Staff Maj Muhammad As'ad, and the two Ottoman delegates, War Staff Brig Gen Ahmad Muzaffar Bey and War Staff Col Muhammad Fahmi Bey.

"The two engineers accompanying the Egyptian committee started to draw up the map of al-'Aqabah and its outskirts while the Egyptian and Turkish committees met to discuss the demarcation line. After numerous meetings and abundant discussions to reconcile the border line the Egyptian committee had presented, which was almost straight, and applied to the nature of the country and the breakdown of the tribes more than any other map, and the Turkish map, which the Turkish committee had called the administrative line of demarcation, each party presented its arguments and views in detail to its government.

"When 13 September 1906 came, each group received a telegram from its government informing it of the decree that had been made regarding it by the ambassador of the British government and the chamber of deputies in Istanbul, and the essence of the royal will in this matter, which was:

"1. That the Ottoman government had admitted that the Negev, from Ra's Taba to the east to a point near al-Mafraq, belonged to al-'Aqabah, while al-Mafraq itself and the wells of Marlayn, 'Ayn Qaddis, 'Ayn al-Qudayrat and 'Ayn al-Qusaymah belonged to Sinai Peninsula, and that the border line from al-Mafraq to Rafah was almost a straight line as the Egyptian committee had hypothesized.

"2. That markers would be placed the length of the border line to indicate it, in the attendance of the representatives of the two parties.

"3. That the tribes living on both sides of the line would have the right to use water as usual, and the same with the imperial troops and members of the locality, and the soldiers making use of the water to the west of the line of demarcation.

"4. The settled people and the bedouins would remain where they had been before, in terms of ownership of land and water, as is customary usage among them.

"The members of the two committees held a number of meetings and determined the border lines in accordance with these four rules on the map. The line was very nearly straight, but it all lay to the west of the straight line except for one point on it, that is, the location of the Rafah marker, which alone was on the straight line. Each party took this line and a copy of the agreement to its government.

"On the morning of 1 October 1906, a statement reached each party from its government on the signing of the agreement. The two parties met in the Egyptian delegates' tent in the afternoon on that day and sketched out the line that had been agreed upon, in points, in black India ink, on two copies of the border map. They then discussed for a long time the language the agreement was written in and finally agreed that it was written in Turkish, because that is the official language between Turkey and Egypt, that they should make two copies, the two parties would sign the two copies of the agreement and the map, the agreement would be translated into English and Arabic, and then each group would take a copy of each translation and attach that to the signed original.

"The agreement which was signed and exchanged in Rafah on 1 October 1906 contained eight articles. Articles One and Seven were among the most important of them, and stipulated the following:

"Article Seven [sic]. Imperial troops are not permitted, as shown in the map accompanying this agreement, from the point of Ra's Taba, situated on the west coast of the Gulf of al-'Aqabah, extending to the peak of the Fort Mara Hill at the head of the eastern Taba mountains overlooking Wadi Taba. Then from the peak of the mountain of the fort the demarcation line heads through the following straight lines to the Mediterranean coast, passing through Tall Khara'ib on the coastline.

"Article Seven. Imperial troops and gendarmes will not be permitted to pass west of the demarcation line armed."

#### The Border Markers

"It was then necessary, after the signing of the agreement, for the members of the two committees to go back the length of the border to map it out, in execution of Article Three. The opinion of the two committees settled on the fact that markers should be erected along the line, and these were set into the ground with iron bars, such as telegraph poles. After that fixed markers were erected in the place of these markers out of rock and cement in the presence of representatives of the two parties. For this reason they brought pillars and iron bars from Egypt via al-Qantarrah, and the two parties proceeded the length of the line and set up markers in a manner where each marker could be seen from the marker following it, as stipulated in the abovementioned article. The total markers installed were 91. They set the first marker in the port of Rafah on Tall al-Khara'ib in the afternoon of

Thursday 4 October, and the last one at Ra's Taba on Wednesday 17 October at sundown.

"Capt Isma'il Effendi al-Mufti of the Works Department in the Egyptian army and Mr Dave, an engineer in the Egyptian committee, accompanied us from Rafah to help in the installation of the markers. On 4 December 1906, Capt Isma'il Effendi al-Mufti went back to Taba as a delegate from the Egyptian committee to build the markers with stone in accordance with the agreement of the two committees, accompanied by 1st Lt Ghali Effendi Zaki and 2nd Lt 'Ali Efendi Hilmi, officers of the Egyptian army, 37 troops from the Fourth Infantry Battalion, five military construction workers from the the Works Section, and a military orderly from the Medical Section. They proceeded on the seaside road and reached Taba on 7 December. The administrator Parker Bey had been named director of Sinai Peninsula, and he appeared before them in Taba by land on that day. They stayed, waiting for the Ottoman delegates.

"On the 20th of that month, Muzaffar Pasha and Fahmi Bey, a representative of the Turkish border committee, appeared, with Col Ghalib Effendi in their presence, to accompany the delegates of the Egyptian border committee to build the markers. Everyone reviewed the form of the fixed markers which had to be erected and agreed after a long argument that they should be in the form of truncated pyramids, a square meter at the base and from 2 to 2.5 meters elevation from the ground, with the surface of their top to be 30 centimeters square, and that the iron bars and wooden fascos should be pulled out, with the bundles to be thrown away while the bars would be sunk into the heads of the markers.

"After agreement over the shape of the markers, Parker Bey returned to Nakhla and Isma'il Effendi and his men started to build the markers, accompanied by the three Turkish delegates, the length of the line, until they reached the end of it.

"The first marker they erected was at Ra's Taba on Saturday 31 December 1906, which they gave the number 91, and the last marker was on Tall al-Khara'ib, at the port of Rafah, on 9 February 1907, which they gave the number one. This speed by which Isma'il Effendi and his men constructed the markers along the line gave proof of great activity, and they must be given full praise and commendation. The rates for the camels which brought water and construction materials for these markers came to 717 pounds and 40 piasters, and the total that Egypt spent setting the boundaries was about 20,000 pounds, or more."

#### Egypt's International Boundaries, 1906-1982

If we review the course of events on the subject of the borders between Egypt and the Ottoman state, we can observe immediately that the process of the demarcation of Egypt's eastern "international" borders went through a number of stages:

First, the decree by Sultan Mahmud the Second to Muhammad 'Ali Pasha in 1841, in which he ensconced him in Egypt and made the regime hereditary within his family after him. To the decree he attached a map showing Egypt's



eastern borders as a line extending from al-'Arish to Suez. However, the Egyptian government did not recognize this border, and in fact turned Egypt's eastern border into a straight line extending from Rafah to al-'Aqabah.

Second, the decree of Sultan 'Abd-al-Hamid to Khedive 'Abbas Hilmi the Second in 1892 in which the sultan removed the Sinai Peninsula from the administrative boundaries of Egypt, which complained about that to the point where a telegram came from Jawad Pasha the prime minister dated 8 April 1892, incorporating Sinai in the Egyptian nation and leaving what was already present in its place.

Third, a letter from Tawfiq Pasha, the prime minister, to Mr Nicholas O'Connor, Britain's ambassador to Istanbul, on 14 May 1906, leaving what was already present in its place following the border incident in Umm Rashrash, Taba and Rafah, which resulted in the border agreement signed on 1 October 1906, Article One of which stipulated that Egypt's administrative demarcation line extended from the point of Ra's Taba, situated on the western coast of the Gulf of al-'Aqabah, to the top of Fort Mara Mountain at the eastern promontory of Mount Taba overlooking Wadi Taba, then from the peak of Fort Mountain to the Mediterranean coast, passing through Tallat Khara'ib on the seacoast.

Fourth, no changes in the border line or ambiguities regarding it occurred from October 1906 to April 1982, except after the great, first war broke out in 1914 and the Turkish forces crossed Sinai and tried to cross the Suez Canal, and after the 1948 war came to an end, when the permanent armistice agreement was signed between Egypt and Israel on the island of Rhodes on 24 February 1949. The administrator Yigael Yadin put his signature on the agreement as a delegate for the Israeli government and in its name. Its Article Six included a full description of the armistice line, including Taba. The same situation applied after the tripartite aggression in 1956, when Israel in December of the same year withdrew from Sinai after pressure was put on it by the American president Eisenhower, until war broke out in 1967, followed by Israel's occupation of all of Sinai, from which it withdrew on 25 April 1982, in accordance with the peace agreement signed on 26 March 1979 between it and Egypt, and the emergence of the conflict over the topographical application of Point 91 of the borders, bearing on Taba, from that date up to today.

11887

CSO: 4504/203

LAWYER QUESTIONS NEED FOR TOTAL APPLICATION OF ISLAMIC LAW

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 3094, 27 Jan 84 pp 32, 33

[Interview with Mustafa Mar'i, Lawyer, by Raja' 'Abdallah: "Mustafa Mar'i, the August Lawyer, in a Conversation with AL-MUSAWWAR: What Can We Gain from Insisting on Applying Islamic Law?"; date and place not specified]

[Text] In a conversation with AL-MUSAWWAR, the august figure of the legal profession, Mustafa Mar'i, talked about the application of Islamic law, expressing his opinion with all the frankness which we have been accustomed to from him. His first and last motive is his solicitude for Islam, his respect for the law and his love for Egypt. Mustafa Mar'i needs no introduction. He has lived through a long period of our nation's history, and since before the revolution has been working constantly active in the ranks of the opposition, wherever his administrative position may have been. He began his life in the lawyers' profession, and then went on from that to the judiciary and university teaching, then was a minister and deputy in parliament, where his requests for information shook the throne. He then went back to work as a lawyer. Although he had been isolated from the opposition for a long period, he is still defending the truth with all the revolutionary passion of his youth, and still (may God give him a long life) is a source for men in politics and the law, who refer to him as an advisor and scholar of political, national and legal life. With all this revolutionary passion for the sake of the truth, and all the frankness, this conversation took place between us.

[Question] Nowadays the call to apply the provisions of Islamic law is being insistently raised. Do you have an explanation for this phenomenon?

[Answer] I explain this phenomenon by the fact that we are approaching the elections, and many candidates imagine that if they express the slogan of applying Islamic law that will have the effect of getting them close to the hearts of their voters. That is my explanation of the desire which seems pressing these days to appeal for the application of Islamic law.

[Question] However, the constitution stipulates that Islamic law is to be the main source of Islamic law, and this is where this appeal for the application of Islamic law has come from!

[Answer] I have said, and still say, that the fact that the constitution stipulates that Islamic law is to be the main source of legislation absolutely does not mean the nullification of the laws that existed and were among us before this stipulation, because the constitution itself has allowed these laws to remain until they are changed. Their change is contingent on the circumstances which require this change, and I do not consider that anything has recently arisen that would require a change in the existing legislation. As evidence of that, I have cited, and still cite, the decree of the general assembly of the court of cassation when its opinion was taken on a number of civil laws which had been prepared by committees to take the place of the current civil group. The general assembly of the court of cassation said "The group of existing civil laws is not exceptionable. It would be good for them to remain as they are, now that people have become familiar with them; if there is anything in them that conflicts with Islamic law let the places in which this conflict is to be found be reviewed."

I cite all this to show that the stipulation in the constitution that Islamic law be a source of legislation does not mean that we should venture to seek to change our existing laws, lest we expose rights and commitments that exist among people to shock and chaos which will have bad effects on the course of transactions and consequently unsatisfactory effects on our economic conditions.

[Question] The constitution stipulates that Islamic law is a major source of legislation. Then came the amendment, making the principles of Islamic law the main source of legislation. What is the difference between the two sentences, and what are its effects?

[Answer] The stipulation of the constitution, in its latest format, allows legislators to derive their lawmaking only from the source of Islamic law itself. Therefore it would have been better had the former, original stipulation remained than the change, because it gave Islamic law its right to the position of prominence and at the same time opened the door to recourse to other forms of legislation, if we do not find the goal we are striving for in Islamic law. It is of course to be understood that we benefit in any case, when we derive what we do from foreign legislation, by taking only from it what does not conflict with the basic principles of Islamic law.

Here I would like to point out that there is a big difference between the Islamic religion and Islamic law. If we realize this difference, we will sense the importance of caution in expressing oneself, because what appears in the Koran or the sayings and doings of the prophet regarding the Islamic religion is tantamount to provisions which do not change as time and place change, whereas the legislative provisions which appear in the Koran and the prophetic traditions have no relationship to religion and they change as time and place change. Therefore I have criticized, and still do criticize, this constitutional provision, which appeared the day the constitution was amended, this amendment which has made Islamic law the main source of legislation, because, as I said, this stipulation has closed the outlets of legislation to the legislators though there was no motive that would call for that.

[Question] There are committees which have been formed and have actually prepared groups of laws in accordance with Islamic legislation, in the People's Assembly!

[Answer] Parliament has the last word, but that does not mean that it has the first and last word. There are deputies who imagine that they can set out the draft of a law and receive agreement to it, and it will become a law. While that is permissible in the case of subsidiary laws, it is not permissible in the case of groups of laws. The Ministry of Justice must prepare such groups and assemble specialists in the form of Islamic jurists and scholars for them, and they must be presented to public opinion so that its view on them can be received, through their presentation in the papers, so that it will say what it is anxious to say about them.

The codification of laws must start with the executive authority, as embodied in the Ministry of Justice, so that the philosophy of the existing regime may be represented within them, because groups of laws change as government philosophies change. After it is presented before public opinion, the government will decide whether or not to present it to parliament so that it will have the final, highest word. However, for legislation to begin in parliament, and end there, represents parliamentary tyranny, a transgression by the legislative authority of its limits, and a neglect of the sovereignty of the nation.

I give warning against that happening, and repeat the warning again and again.

#### Islam Is Lacking in a Form of Governance

[Question] What is your personal view on the application of the principles of Islamic law, in accordance with what is stated in the constitution?

[Answer] I was against having the stipulation put in the 1971 constitution, because I cannot apply Islamic law if I want to apply a provision which is in keeping with the times. It was and still is my opinion that Moslems must understand the difference between religious provisions, that is, the contents of the Koran and the sayings and doings of the prophet with respect to religion, and the provisions it contains on subjects other than religion. The former are binding, because they do not change with changes in time, whereas the subjects other than religion, especially as regards governance, do not necessarily have to be the sole source, because there is nothing in the Koran or the sayings and doings of the prophet regarding the affairs of government, which change as time and place change. Therefore God has left that to the people. Proof of that is the bewilderment of the prophet's companions when the prophet, on whom be God's prayers and peace, died. They were taken by surprise by the problem of the succession, for which there is no solution in the Koran and the sayings and doings of the prophet. Then there was the meeting in the gallery, in which Abu Bakr was chosen, with support from 'Umar ibn al-Khattab.

Had God wanted to set out a system of governance, mention of it would have appeared in the Koran, or the sayings and doings of the prophet would have



cited it. However, the almighty left it up to the people, to give them the freedom to choose.

The people who say that consultation in Islam is democracy are wrong, because democracy requires two things: that the governed have a say in the choice of the person governing them, and that they have the right to subject him to review, hold him to account and question him. None of the provisions of Islamic law guarantee these rights. The people who want to add a benefit to Islamic law by stating that consultation is democracy in the language of our present era have missed the fact that Islamic law is a law that God has set out, and what God has set out does not need to be praised by man.

I have read the entire Koran, and in it I have found just two verses that talk about consultation. The almighty said, "Those who have responded to their lord and have held the prayer, their affair is consultation among themselves and they spend what we have provided them with." That is a chapter from Mecca, at a time when the prophet was not talking about governance and it was not even occurring to him that there would be an Islamic state in Medina which God's prophet would lead, as a prophet and head of state at the same time, governing by God's law, which he had revealed to him. That was a provision for it in this initial period of the emergence of Islam.

The second verse came after the raid of Uhud. The prophet had consulted with some bedouins and their consultation failed. The verse was revealed in the chapter of Al 'Umran. The almighty said, "Be sympathetic with them, ask forgiveness for them, and consult with them regarding the matter, and if you reach a decision, place your trust in God." That does not indicate any opinion on the political question which involves getting the ruled to take part with the ruler in governance. In any event, it does not mean that the prophet must follow the counsel of the people he referred to, because the glorious almighty said, "and if you reach a decision, place your trust in God."

That provision, in the view of many experts of Islamic jurisprudence, states clearly that the prophet was not restricted to the consultation of the people he referred to. Therefore, to those who want to go back to the principles of Islamic law, I say, what are the principles of Islamic law? They have to be determined and defined before they go into effect. The definition from which the provision of Islamic law is derived has to be determined from among the numerous conflicting creeds of the imams on a given issue of Islamic law.

What about crimes of which no mention is made in the Koran and the sayings and doings of the prophet? If the severance of the hand was a penalty for a thief, what is the penalty for someone who embezzles a million pounds from the treasury, or someone who exploits influence? Will he be ruled innocent because there is no provision on that? What about the penalty of severing a hand -- what will we do to the people whose hands are cut off? Will they become a burden to society? Why? Isn't the penalty of severing the hand for a reprimand? Hasn't the world developed other penalties for a reprimand? Why don't we start from the beginning, which is the development of morality and good upbringing?

By the way, the penalty of severing the hand existed in the pre-Islamic era, and therefore this penalty was not a surprise to them.

There also is the penalty for the adulterer and the adulteress. The Koran stipulates that at 100 lashes, and does not mention stoning at all. However, the prophet did stone an adulteress, and stoning became the stipulated penalty. However, they did not know that the woman the prophet stoned was a Jewess, and Jewish law punishes adulteresses by stoning. The prophet punished her in accordance with her own religious law.

However, subsequently, stoning was stipulated as the punishment, and flogging was abandoned. We have learned that there is a judiciary progression in which a bill does not take precedence over a law, and a law does not take precedence over the constitution, so what would their opinion be, for example, about a life insurance policy, which the Arabs did not know at all, or about aviation or other modern issues?

After that, I can say that Islamic law was not just the severance of hands, was not just the stoning of adulterers; Islamic law was a coherent whole.

If the determination of Islamic law is left to unanimity and individual intellectual effort, what is unanimity? It is just the opinion of Islamic jurists who spoke in an era different from ours, the opinion of people who might differ with our views. To whom among them, and there are dozens, should we give preference regarding his view? Why should it be better than our view? They were jurists and they had pupils. We also are professors, and we have pupils.

Therefore, a ruling was issued by the court of cassation in 1982 stating that the provision which says that the principles of Islamic law are the main source of legislation does not have to be carried out by itself; rather, it is an appeal to legislators that Islamic law be the main source regarding the laws they codify. Therefore, what is designated in the application of Islamic law is the legislators' response to the appeal and the culling of the principles of Islamic law in specific carefully controlled stipulations in accordance with which the judiciary will be committed to rule, starting with the new date the legislative authorities stipulate they are to go into effect.

Above and beyond that, the application of Islamic law requires the specific finding from which the verdict of Islamic law is to be derived, from among numerous conflicting creeds of the imams on a given issue.

That is the provision which the court of cassation produced, that the principles of Islamic law should be defined first, not that we should give a share to every independent thinker.

Then why should we go far afield? There are countries that have claimed that they have applied Islamic law. Why should we deceive ourselves? Could it be said that the society in those countries is a Moslem society in the sense the Koran meant? In another area, could it be said that the society in those countries permits the ruled to choose their ruler and that their deputies

gather together to debate with their government, hold it to account and stipulate a lack of confidence in it? Is any of that to be found in these countries? Is the regime in them satisfactory to us, and does it cause us to approach it, so that we can use it as a good model?

Finally, God's statement to his prophet that the Koran is comprehensive for everything means that it is comprehensive regarding everything in religion. This restriction must be placed on the interpretation of the comprehensiveness of the Koran regarding everything, because religion means fixed attributes which do not change, while many things occur in matters other than religion which did not exist previously. The people who interpret that as meaning that the Koran even produced the atom are wrong and are flattering the masses, and just getting close to the man in the street.

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PARLIAMENT SPEAKER DISCUSSES MEANING OF RESTORATION OF PARLIAMENTARY LIFE

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 210, 18-24 Feb 84 pp 3-4

[Interview with 'Akif al-Fayiz, House of Representatives speaker, by Lima Nabil: 'Whereas Nobody Views It as Ordinary Parliament, Jordanian House of Representatives Speaker Tells AL-MAJALLAH: Restoration of Parliament Has No Connection With Negotiations"; in Amman, date not specified]

[Text] Amman—King Husayn's decision to restore parliamentary life to Jordan has evoked various reactions which have not been free of ill opinion on the part of some circles that have viewed the Jordanian decision as an outflanking of the Rabat resolutions to control the West Bank and to speak in the name of the Palestinians in any future peace plans. This is insofar as the Arab level, especially the Arab countries that disagree with Jordan in opinion, is concerned.

As for the local and "legitimate" Palestinian level, the decision has been received with satisfaction and with the hope that the Palestinian issue will be tackled rationally and with the participation of both sides. Palestinian officials have repeatedly declared on their part that they are convinced by the Jordanian explanations regarding the return of parliamentary life. Along the same line, the Jordanians have expressed their joy at the return of the parliament which represents to them a guarantee of democracy and of the supremacy of law.

Since initiation of the mechanical steps for implementation of the decision, Jordanian officials and information media have not stopped providing explanations regarding the reasons dictating the return of the Jordanian parliament with its Jordanian and Palestinian representatives.

The two most important points on which the interpretations have been based are the point that Jordan cannot suspend its parliamentary life, which is a part of the traditions of Jordanian policy, just because some circles suspect that this step is tantamount to an official separation of the two banks and, second, the point that if the Jordanian parliament loses its legal quorum with the death of a number of its members, then it will fall into a constitutional paralysis which will put the country in a constitutional crisis. Thus, the House of Representatives has returned to resume its tasks after 10 years of suspension of parliamentary life.



While Jordan stands on the threshold of conducting by-elections in the East Bank, for which 12 March has been set as the date, to fill the eight vacant seats in its election districts, AL-MAJALLAH has interviewed 'Akif al-Fayiz, the House of Representatives speaker, who has answered the questions raised and their connection with the PLO's sole representation of the Palestinian people and with Jordan's entry into a new political phase. Following is the text of the interview:

[Question] What is your opinion of the conclusions of some people linking the return of parliamentary life and Jordan's entry into political negotiations seeking to reach a peaceful solution?

[Answer] The restoration of parliamentary life is an organizational measure dictated by domestic circumstances. It is a measure intended to correct the constitutional situation in response to the citizens' wishes and demands to restore the democratic life to which the Jordanians had been accustomed for more than 50 years. This measure has no dimensions beyond this framework.

[Question] Some believe that the restoration of parliamentary life to Jordan represents an outflanking of the Rabat resolutions which recognize the PLO as the Palestinian people's sole legitimate representative.

[Answer] One of the most prominent features of Jordanian policy is its eagerness to abide by the resolutions of the Arab summits and of the Arab League. Moreover, Jordanian policy has never stopped affirming, through King Husayn and through all the officials, that the PLO is the Palestinian people's legitimate representative. Besides, Jordan has been accustomed in its political course to reconsidering the phases of its development and to evaluating its role in its domestic, Arab and international environment. I believe that as a result of this assessment, it has become evident to Jordan that suspension of parliamentary life--a suspension coming as a result of a political decision dictated by the circumstances and the events at the time--has caused paralysis at the level of the domestic front, especially insofar as the citizens' rights and their participation in making decisions pertaining to their future is concerned. This is why I agree with King Husayn's decision and why, in my capacity as the House of Representatives speaker, I believe that political decisions, regardless of their type and importance, must not supercede the people's constitutional right to express their will and freedom in selecting their representatives to the House of Representatives.

#### Whom Does It Represent

[Question] The returning House of Representatives is faulted for not representing the various people's sectors, especially the young segments which have had no say in it. Moreover, the present makeup reflects the reality prevalent before the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and does not reflect the current opinions and tendencies of the Jordanian people.

[Answer] This situation is dictated by the constitution, Paragraph 5 of Article 73 of the constitution, dictates that the previous House be summoned to convene. The Jordanian Government has observed the constitutional provision

in restoring parliamentary life. This is the start of other steps which will be taken in the future to hold general elections. We are in the process of taking measures to hold by-elections in the next 2 months in accordance with the law to fill 8 vacant seats in the East Bank. The principle of the broad base of all the voters entitled to cast their vote so far will be adopted. The government has begun forming the committees that will work day and night in all the election districts to register the voters and to prepare lists for all citizens, including women who are now entitled to vote. The elections will be held on this basis and these lists will be adopted as a basis for conducting future elections.

[Question] What is the extent of the Arab parliaments' contribution to achieving a minimum degree of Arab detente?

[Answer] This is up to the Arab parliaments. We on our part will act in solidarity with these parliaments to achieve Arab detente and solidarity. We will be eager for the strategic cooperation which enables our nation to restore its full and undiminished rights.

One Bond

[Question] What is the direction that Jordan will take vis-a-vis the West Bank inhabitants after restoration of parliamentary life, which has reflected a realistic and political commitment toward the kinsmen there?

[Answer] I hope that the entire world will realize that the organic bond between the Jordanians and Palestinians as a single people is a historical, national and fateful bond and that the realistic tie binding them at all levels is an unbreakable tie. It is a sacred bond whose mainstay is the blood of the martyrs on the soil of Palestine. This bond has the same goals, interests and common destiny.

[Question] What is the main task of this parliament and what is the relationship between its return and the formation of a new government?

[Answer] One of the most prominent tasks facing the parliament at the beginning of its term is to devote doubled attention to domestic affairs at the level of construction and development in the various spheres, to devote attention to the citizen in his capacity as our country's main and supreme wealth and to exert efforts to enhance his position and to put his interests above all other interests. As for the House's relationship with the government, this depends on the work program of the government itself and is founded on the principle of watching the implementation of its program. If the government implements well, we will aid it and if it makes mistakes, we will help it assess its mistake and correct its course, if it responds to constructive democratic criticism.

[Question] With the return of parliamentary life to Jordan, numerous questions are raised regarding new political facts that will come into existence. There are those, for example, who say that the returning parliament will pave

the way for peace negotiations in accordance with the Reagan plan, the Fes plan or some other formula. What is your opinion of this?

[Answer] Nothing of any sort has been presented to the parliament. When any formula of the sort is presented to it, it will examine it in light of the national and pan-Arab interest. I have confidence in my brothers the members of the House of Representatives, who have been elected by our people on both banks of the river with their free will. This strengthens my faith that they will not squander our people's national rights and will not cede their nation's pan-Arab rights and aspirations.

#### Lebanon's Events

[Question] Is the purpose of the return of parliamentary life to Jordan to restore the parties and how will this be done?

[Answer] Parliamentary life is our path to exercising democracy. Democracy, in our opinion, is indivisible and we believe in it in deed, not [just] in word.

[Question] What is your opinion of the events taking place in Lebanon and is there hope of restoration of the Lebanese homeland?

[Answer] The events taking place in Lebanon cause the heart to bleed and create paralysis and division in the area. We fully hope that the Lebanese will unite their word and their resolution behind a formula that will save their country from this bloodshed, damage and destruction that is afflicting all without exception. Even though we condemn the presence of the invading Zionist forces and their occupation of large parts of Lebanon's territories, we also blame the Arab countries for their failure in the face of what has been happening in this Arab country for years. Therefore, we in Jordan demand with utter determination that the Arabs move at all levels to insure withdrawal of the Israeli forces and the other forces present on Lebanon's soil so that the Lebanese people may restore their unity and their sovereignty over their country.

[Question] What is your opinion of the Iraq-Iran war and is there hope of putting an end to this war?

[Answer] This war, which has been going on between two fraternal Muslim countries, is in our opinion an unjust war that must be brought to an end immediately because it is not in the interest of either side. Moreover, this war has turned into a drain exhausting the strength and resources and weakening the morale [of both sides]. It has, furthermore, given the opportunity and created the climate for the major powers to interfere in the domestic affairs of the area's countries. This is likely to pose a threat to their security and to expose world peace to danger. Therefore, we in Jordan stand with fraternal Iraq with all our capabilities to put an end to this war and to preserve Iraq's safety.

## BRIEFS

**LOAN FOR ALIA**--The Jordanian Royal Airline--Alia--is exerting efforts to arrange for a loan of \$180 million to purchase 5 new aircraft as part of its effort to expand and modernize its air fleet. The British Government, through the Exports Credit Department, the U.S. Import and Export Bank and a number of commercial banks, will participate in the loan. 'Ali Ghandur, the company president, has said that Alia will receive a Tristar-500 aircraft next February and 2 more aircraft in 1985. It will also purchase a new Boeing-757 and a new Boeing-727 or an Airbus aircraft. Alia's fleet consists of 17 planes. Ghandur has said that the company has produced a profit this year despite the economic freeze and the drop in the volume of the activity from \$493 million to \$390 million. [Text] [London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 211, 25 Feb-2 Mar 84 p 48] 8494

**INTERNAL TOURISM**--The general director of tourism in Jordan has announced that 1984 will be the year of internal tourism, adding that 1983 was one of the most difficult years for Jordanian tourism with the big drop in the number of tourists and with the enormous loss incurred by the hotel sector. Michel Hamarinah, the general director of tourism, said that the number of tourists arriving in Jordan in 1983 did not exceed 1,717,000 tourists from the Arab homeland and the world. Arab tourists constituted 81 percent of the total number of tourists. [Text] [London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 46, 25 Feb 84 p 59] 8494

CSO: 4404/360



## PRIVATE SECTOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO DEVELOPMENT DISCUSSED

### Field of Manufacturing Entered

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 210, 18-24 Feb 84 p 47

[Article: "The Saudi Private Sector Enters the Field of Manufacturing Within the Framework of the New 5-Year Plan"]

[Text] Saudi Arabia is planning for the development of a diversified industrial base to be financed by the private sector, and the body which will be in charge of coordinating its activities will be the National Industries Organization which will subsequently be established.

The Saudi government expects that this project will attract more than 10 billion riyals of financial investments during the next few years. We would also like to mention the fact that the National Industries Organization, whose initial capital has been set at 600 million riyals, will be the first organization of its type in Saudi Arabia which will be financed and administered by the private sector.

Although the organization will basically be a Saudi one, it will be welcoming foreign participation in a number of the industrial projects which it will be implementing and will also be welcoming foreign participation in the realms of industrial administration and advanced technology.

At the top of the list of the industrial projects which the organization will be implementing in the near future are the domestic manufacture of Japanese trucks, in cooperation with the Mitsubishi automotive corporation, and the production of medicines.

Saudi Arabia imports \$400 million worth of medicines per year from abroad, and they mostly come from Europe and the U.S. The National Industries Organization is hoping that the domestic production of a number of these medicines will lead to a 50 percent decrease in the value of these imports by the end of the eighties.

In the long run, this Saudi organization has the objective of decreasing Saudi Arabia's dependence on oil exports and decreasing the value of its imports from abroad--which totalled \$20 billion last year.

A total of 119 businessmen and firms are participating in the capital of the National Industries Organization, in addition to 3 banks and 4 government institutions, and altogether they own 40 percent of the total shares of the organization. The remaining 60 percent of the shares will be put up for sale to the public. The National Industries Organization will perform the function of a holding company and will thus possess, to varying degrees, the controlling interest in each project it implements.

#### New Role for the Private Sector

The establishment of the National Industries Organization is part of the new 5-year development plan for 1985-90 which will basically concentrate on revitalizing the Saudi private sector and enabling it to play a more effective role in the nation's economy.

The new 5-year plan primarily has the objective of diversifying Saudi Arabia's sources of income and reducing the Saudi economy's dependence on oil revenues. For this reason, the greater part of Saudi Arabia's oil revenues during the next 5 years--estimated at between \$180 billion and \$220 billion--will be devoted to the priority goal of diversifying the nation's production base and anchoring the foundations for a broad industrial sector. This will be accomplished by the following basic means:

1. Enabling the private sector to run and administer many of the institutions which are currently being administered by the public sector.
2. Putting up a majority of the shares of the two largest industrial corporations--the Saudi Basic Industries Corporation (Sabic), and Petromin--for public subscription. In fact, 2 million of the shares which the organization already put up for sale last January have already been covered by the board of the Financial and Investment Center in Riyadh.
3. The establishment of commercial courts and offices for notaries public, and the establishment of a system for circulating company shares.

In the practical realm, the Saudi commercial banks have begun the establishment of special companies for dealing with the registration of the corporations and the issuing of the stocks. It should be mentioned that, at the present time, the shares of no more than 40 Saudi corporations are being traded in the financial market. This number is expected to increase as soon as the final arrangements are made for a system for circulating shares.

In addition to this, and in support of the policy of diversifying Saudi Arabia's production base, the 5-year plan will also be concentrating on the development of the nation's non-petroleum mineral wealth--particularly iron and precious metals.

## Private Sector Role Increased

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 211, 25 Feb-2 Mar 84 pp 44-45

[Article: "The Saudi Private Sector Accounts for 65 Percent of the GDP"]

[Text] The fourth 5-year plan is setting its hopes on the ability of the Saudi private sector to play a pioneering role in the development of industry during the second half of the eighties. To what degree has the Arab private sector become capable of playing this role that the new 5-year plan is expecting it to play?

The decade of the seventies saw a number of Arab nations--both these nations' governments and individuals--enter all of the realms of the field of foreign investment--both in the Arab nations and the nations outside the Arab world. Arab investments were channeled to places abroad because there was a lack of investment opportunities at home and because financial surpluses were accumulating, both in the hands of Arab governments and individuals.

In the initial phase, government expenditures in the oil-producing nations were concentrated on infrastructure projects, the development of health services, education, and training, and the establishment of some of the foundations for the economies of these nations when the oil runs out.

The tremendous increase in domestic expenditures resulted in a large part of the oil revenues falling into the hands of individuals, merchants, and citizens in general. It also resulted in a steady increase in the purchasing power of the public and an expansion in the scope, depth, and absorption capacity of the market. Thus these government expenditures resulted in the creation of a class of businessmen and investors. Also, there was a large increase in the volume [of the financial dealings of] the investors and the financial groups which already existed, and they acquired tremendous financial potential.

This development applies in particular to Saudi Arabia which, unlike Kuwait, invested its oil revenues domestically rather than investing them abroad in the form of foreign investments. Although Saudi Arabia does have huge foreign assets, the Saudi authorities consider these assets to be temporary ones which someday will have to be "recalled" for the purposes of domestic development or for other purposes. Thus Saudi Arabia's investment policy has always been different from that of Kuwait since Saudi Arabia, unlike Kuwait, does not have the objective of developing its foreign investments as a source of income which could take the place of oil revenues in the future.

One thing which has enabled Saudi Arabia to follow this investment policy is the fact that Saudi Arabia is a far larger country than Kuwait is. Consequently, Saudi Arabia's domestic market has a large absorption capacity and provides ample opportunities for domestic investment. In addition to this, the Saudis' cash surplus began to come into being at a later date and found a ready outlet in real estate investment inside Saudi Arabia during the boom of the latter half of the seventies.

Within this context it is only natural that the Saudi authorities would direct the Saudi private sector toward the areas of domestic investment provided by the 1985-90 5-year plan within the framework of a process of "rectification" of the role of the private sector in the realm of domestic investment. Experience has shown that Arab investors are influenced by the actions and policies of their government and that they generally--sooner or later--follow the direction that the government follows.

It is on the basis of this premise that the fourth 5-year plan is encouraging the effective participation of the private sector in the development of its domestic investments via two broad strategies, which are the following:

1. Enabling this sector to purchase and administer the huge industrial corporations which, when they were established in the seventies, the government considered too large to be handled by domestic [private sector] capacities at the time.
2. Providing appropriate channels for the absorption of private sector investments in the domestic industries.

#### Transitional Phase

Seen from this vantage point, the fourth 5-year plan constitutes a necessary phase of transition from a predominantly petroleum-based economy to an economy which is less dependent on oil and more diversified in terms of its production revenues.

Although it is something which only recently got started, the Saudi private sector has been quite active in the area of domestic investment. The private sector, although with clear government support, has achieved tangible successes in the realm of developing light industries and agricultural projects as well as in the services sector. We should mention the fact that these activities constitute 56 percent of the GDP, although the construction sector still accounts for about one-fifth of the GDP and although the greatest efforts of the private sector are concentrated on this activity.

At the present time the government is following a policy of reducing the size of construction projects and postponing the initiation of basic industrial projects. This policy is being accompanied by the putting up of government corporation shares for public subscription, to be bought primarily by Saudi investors and secondarily by investors from the other Gulf nations.

The most prominent of these corporations is the Saudi Basic Industries Corporation (Sabic), which put up 2 million of its capital shares for public subscription at a nominal price of 1,000 riyals per share, with the addition of an issue premium of 180 riyals per share. A total of 2,800,000 shares were set aside for Saudi citizens, and 200,000 shares (that is, 10 percent of the capital) were set aside for the citizens of the other GCC nations. The subscription is expected to exceed the number of shares put up for sale to the subscribers. This is something which demonstrates the fact



that individuals are positively responding to the policy of the government, which has the objective of encouraging the private sector to invest inside the country.

At this stage the Saudi government is devoting particular attention to the encouragement of investments by the private sector in medium-size industrial projects. It is doing this in order to fill the gap which exists between the huge projects of Sabic and the small projects which have thrived by virtue of the low-interest loans granted by the Saudi Industrial Development Fund. It was the intention of the Saudi government, during February of 1984, to establish the National Industries Organization with an initial capital of 600 million riyals, with the shares being almost totally owned by Saudi businessmen and banks. The task of the organization will be to provide insurance for foreign partners possessing capital and the technology needed for the establishment of a number of industrial projects. The principal shareholders in the organization have already begun preparations for the first industrial project--the setting up of a medicines-manufacturing plant having a capital of \$100 million.

However, the ambitious industrialization projects created for the Saudi private sector will remain projects of the fourth 5-year plan. In addition to the putting up of the shares of Sabic and Petromin for public subscription, the plan includes transferring the ownership of a large number of public corporations to the private sector--especially corporations engaging in services. Also, the Saudi government has the intention of encouraging the circulation of shares.

In fact, 11 Saudi banks have recently formed a jointly-owned company which will be functioning as a clearing house for the shares of the Saudi firms which will be traded.

#### Kuwaiti Precedent

In spite of all of these preparations, the Saudi government considers it unlikely that a public stock exchange will be set up in Saudi Arabia, especially after the government has sensed to what degree there might be wild speculation in the newly-formed Gulf financial corporations.

For this reason, Saudi Arabia appears determined to avoid a repetition of what happened in Kuwait when the Suq al-Manakh crashed. Furthermore, the government tends to be even more cautious concerning this matter because the Saudi economy is the largest economy among those of the Gulf nations and its industrial projects are the most ambitious ones. As the six GCC nations demonstrate that they adhere to the principle of allowing capital to be freely moved across their borders, the Saudi market will become more and more attractive for capital from the other GCC nations. The fact that 10 percent of the shares of Sabic have been set aside for the citizens of the other GCC nations is an initial indication of the fact that the Saudi market is attracting investors from the other Gulf nations. Since the law establishing the National Industries Organization grants the organization the right to seek

foreign capital--including Gulf capital--to participate in Saudi industrial projects, any repetition of the Suq al-Manakh experience would tend to result in negative consequences not only for Saudi investors, but also for all investors from the other Gulf nations and from foreign countries.

However, there are sufficient indications of the fact that it will not be long before a Saudi financial market takes shape and its apparatus gradually begins functioning--particularly in view of the policy of the fourth 5-year plan.

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MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY DISCUSSES DEVELOPMENT OF SAUDI INDUSTRY

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 211, 25 Feb-2 Mar 84 pp 39-41

[Interview with Eng 'Abd-al-'Aziz 'Abdallah al-Zamil, minister of industry and electricity, by Khalid Muhammad (Batarfi): "There Are No Restrictions on Foreign Investment in Saudi Arabia"; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] "The boom period period has ended, and the period of hard work has begun."

"We are against controlling capital investment and legally regulating industry."

There are a number of reasons for holding an interview with Eng 'Abd-al-'Aziz 'Abdallah al-Zamil, the Saudi minister of industry and electricity. First of all, Saudi Arabia is engaging in a unique effort to make its presence felt in the industrial world as an industrial nation which exports goods and to obtain a respectable share of the world market at least for its petrochemicals and petroleum products. Eng al-Zamil has been one of the persons active in the field of industry who has contributed toward the realization of this dream and toward making the risk involved worthwhile. Furthermore, this young (42-year-old) industrialist is a living example of a minister who has specialized in his field and who has not achieved his position by virtue of a stroke of luck. In fact, his present position represents the culmination of a long and difficult path. He began by receiving a bachelor's and master's degree in industrial engineering from the University of Southern California. Then he spent 16 years in the field of industry, where he held 15 different jobs both in Saudi Arabia and abroad. Finally he was appointed minister of industry and electricity by virtue of a royal decree which was recently issued. The interview with him went as follows:

[Question] Your Excellency, there is a question which is still uppermost in the minds of our citizens and is of concern to them when it comes to the matter of the future of our country after the oil runs out, and the answer which has been given to this question is still one which is hazy and subject to a great deal of dispute and interpretation according to different points

of view. This question is the following: How can we reconcile our search for alternatives to oil with the fact that we are basing most of our principal industries on oil, and what will be the fate of these industrial plants when the oil runs out?

[Answer] This is a question which we have often been asked, especially by you members of the press. Since you have asked this question once again, I would like to take the opportunity to summarize this basic and important point for all of you who are still perplexed and still asking this question. Nothing in this world lasts forever. Everything in this world is something which exists temporarily. This is a fact, and there can be no dispute concerning this. The day will come when oil, like everything else, will no longer be around. This question, however, should be put within the following framework: "Should we simply see our oil as a depletable resource and not allow this wealth of ours to be exploited, with others processing it and then reselling it both to us and to others beside us?"

The logical answer here is that we must roll up our sleeves and right away get to work. It is not reasonable for us to continue to sell our crude oil to others for them to process it, nor is it reasonable for us to waste our associated gas and burn it off instead of putting it to use. More importantly than all of this, we must create a complete industrial generation of young people who can work both with their hands and with their heads. What we need to have is technicians, engineers, mechanics, and persons specializing in the fields of electricity, electronics, computers, maintenance, and operations. Such people will constitute the firm future foundation for industrial development in whatever field of industry we engage in. So far we have succeeded quite well in the steps which we have taken in this direction. We already have 300 young Saudis who are employed [in the field of industry], and another 1,000 Saudis are being trained.

#### Our Experience and the Experience of the Socialist Nations

[Question] Any industry is based on three elements--raw materials, labor force, and machinery. If any of these three elements is present, then this justifies importing the other two elements. However, what is often happening in Saudi Arabia is that we are setting up industrial plants for which we lack all three of these elements. To what degree do you approve of this sort of thing taking place?

[Answer] In addition to the three elements which you have mentioned one should also add the market as an element. Furthermore, there are also other economic and health-related factors. For example, instead of importing canned sugar from abroad, I could import unprocessed sugar, refine it here, and then sterilize and can it. This way I would be controlling its quality level and guaranteeing that it is a healthy consumer product. One could also apply this example to the truck-manufacturing industry. Instead of importing trucks that have already been assembled, I could import the parts for the trucks and assemble them here. This is something which is undoubtedly much more economical.



There is another point which is even more important, and it is the fact that we live in a country whose economy is a free economy rather than a controlled economy. What this means is that our businessmen and investors are the ones who do the planning, who make the studies, who implement their projects, and who then either earn a profit or do not earn a profit. Such people are, of course, the ones who are the best qualified persons to plan their projects and to earn profits after implementing them. If we compare our experience here in Saudi Arabia with the experience undergone, for example, by the socialist nations, what we discover is that the economies in those countries are based on the work of, for example, 10 [central] planners who formulate, plan, and oversee their nation's industrial policy. This is something which has proven to be unsuccessful. But in Saudi Arabia, instead of having 10 persons engaged in the planning process, we have 10,000 persons performing this function, and all of them are doing the planning and all of them are working on the basis of personal motivation. Those who are constructing industrial plants are doing so for themselves rather than for others. Such people are going to expend greater efforts and are going to utilize all of their abilities and capacities in order to assure that their projects will be successful. Some Western businessmen once asked me: "What are the priorities of industry in Saudi Arabia?" My answer was: "We have no priorities [set by the government]. The people who set the priorities are the investors themselves. We do not set them."

[Question] An industry must have the proper raw materials available in order to be successful, and this was one principal reason for setting up the basic industries that were set up in the al-Jubayl and Yanbu' complexes. How much cooperation and coordination exists between the Ministry of Industry and the organizations responsible for exploration and the extraction of mineral wealth in order to guarantee that the raw materials required by our domestic industry be available?

[Answer] One of the reasons for the success of our petrochemicals industries is the fact that we have petroleum and natural gas, which constitute the raw materials for these industries. In response to your question, I would like to reassure you that serious efforts are being undertaken to achieve coordination between responsible officials in the Ministry [of Industry]--including those in Sabic--and responsible officials in [the Ministry of Petroleum and] Mineral Wealth. Sabic's role is a subsequent role. First we have exploration, then we have extraction, and then there is the purchasing and processing.

[Question] Excuse me, Your Excellency. I am not only talking about Sabic. I also have in mind Saudi industry as a whole.

[Answer] Yes, yes. This goes even for the privately-owned plants. We are coordinating with responsible parties in [the Ministry of Petroleum and] Mineral Wealth who are carrying out the exploration and extraction process. Saudi plants--both government plants and privately-owned plants--are doing the purchasing and processing.

## A Work Group for the Encouragement of National Industry

[Question] Some people feel that it is necessary to form a coordination committee for the purpose of providing encouragement to our domestic industry, and they feel that this committee should be composed mainly of persons from the Ministries of Finance and Commerce as well as representatives from the other ministries. What is your opinion about this?

[Answer] Encouraging our domestic industry is a fundamental job which is performed by the Ministry of Commerce. I also believe that the Ministry of Finance has an important role to play in the implementation of the decisions of the Council of Ministers concerning government purchases. In general, there is an understanding that a work group should be formed consisting of persons from the Ministries of Commerce and Industry as well as the Council of Chambers of Commerce and Industry. In a recent meeting held in Ha'il by the administrative boards of the chambers of commerce and industry it was decided to establish a national committee, within the framework of several committees, and its job would be to provide encouragement to Saudi industrialists.

[Question] What I had in mind was organized support by the ministries for national industry via a higher committee.

[Answer] This may not be necessary. The important thing is that there be increasing awareness among those responsible for government purchases that the emphasis should be on purchasing Saudi products. Furthermore, the industrialists should be aware of one important fact--which is that the responsibility of the industrialists does not end when the plant has been constructed and the production process has begun. Industrialists should bear in mind that it is very important to have effective management in the fields of marketing and advertising, and that this is just as important as constructing the plant. They should not expect people to come to them instead of them going to the people. Also, they should not expect the Ministry of Industry or government agencies to guarantee that their products will be purchased and marketed. Saudi citizens are both enthusiastic about their national products and they have confidence in them. The only thing they need is to have someone make these products reach them. At the fairs which have exhibited Saudi industrial products, we have seen what demand there is to purchase these products. There was great demand, and nobody expected it. Saudi citizens have shown that they really are encouraging our national industry.

[Question] Incidentally, our national industrial fairs this year were all held during the same week. This meant that an ordinary citizen, industrialist, or businessman in Jiddah, for example, was able to attend only one of these fairs. Why is each fair not held at a time which is different from that of all of the other fairs?

[Answer] This is something that we will do next year--God willing.

[Question] What is your opinion about the idea of setting up permanent national industry exhibits in buildings owned by the chambers of commerce rather than in rented buildings, as has been the case in the past?

[Answer] This is another matter which we will be studying--God willing.

#### A Public Marketing Firm

[Question] Let me make the following remark concerning the answer that you gave to a question of mine: Not every plant owner is capable of establishing effective marketing management. Why not set up a public marketing firm which would involve the participation of the government, as represented by the Ministries of Commerce and Industry, and the private sector and chambers of commerce and industry in order that these bodies, as a group, undertake the marketing of products from Saudi industrial plants?

[Answer] The channels already exist right now. A few years ago there were only consolidated commercial enterprises that sold imported goods. But now we are seeing Saudi products taking their place in the marketplace. These industrial plants are able to utilize these channels.

[Question] I would like to continue the discussion concerning the role of the Ministry of Industry in encouraging and supporting national industries, and therefore I would like to ask the following question: Since we have already reached the stage of exporting our national products, should the ministry not also extend and expand its encouragement and responsibility for our national industry so that it promotes our national industry in foreign countries?

[Answer] We are also prepared to support and encourage our national industry in foreign countries. Together with the Ministry of Commerce we have participated in international fairs which have exhibited the products of our industries. We are ready to cooperate and provide support in this area. However, Saudi industrialists today possess a greater degree of awareness than they used to. We note that a number of industrial plants participated in the recent international fair in Baghdad, they paid the expenses of their participation in the fair, and they were so successful in their promotion of Saudi industry that the Saudi pavillions were always crowded with visitors. In fact, they were praised by the Iraqi minister of trade.

[Question] What is it that is preventing the establishment of an automobile-assembling industry in Saudi Arabia?

[Answer] In fact, nothing is preventing the establishment of this industry. Perhaps 7 years ago it was not feasible to establish such enterprises. But there has been considerable development in the automobile industry in the world and it has gradually come to depend on the utilization of machinery and robots, and there has been a great increase in the import of automobiles into Saudi Arabia. For these reasons, it has become quite feasible to establish such enterprises. I urge our businessmen--especially those who

import Japanese automobiles--to study this idea. Some people are in fact quite interested in this. These people have suggested the idea to us, and we have encouraged them. But I personally prefer to see the automobile importers establish this industry. The reason is that their names are already known in the marketplace, they are thoroughly familiar with it, and they have already set up distribution channels, sales centers, agencies, maintenance workshops, etc., for their imported automobiles.

#### The Boom Period Is Over

[Question] I would like to return to my question concerning the availability of the basic elements of industry and say the following: Saudi industrial plants primarily rely on a foreign labor force for a number of reasons. These reasons include the fact that there are not enough trained qualified Saudis, and it is cheaper to hire a foreign labor force than it is to pay the costs of training a Saudi labor force and pay the high salaries which this Saudi labor force would expect to receive. My question is: Why does the ministry not make it compulsory for every plant to have a certain percentage of its labor force consist of Saudis?

[Answer] I am against the principle of using compulsory measures and the principle of instituting laws in order to push forward with the process of industrialization. I favor using persuasion with the industrialists and winning them over to our views. I agree with you when you say that most of the people currently working in the field of industry are non-Saudis. As you said, the reason for this is that this labor force is abundant and is cheaper. I also agree with you that, in the long run, this is something which will not be in our best interests. If the plant owners would only consider how things will be in the long run, they would realize that, before building their plants, they should train a work force of Saudis to run them. I feel that Saudis might be interested in working in these plants in the future because sooner or later they will discover that the future will belong to people who have had technical training rather than those who graduate from institutions which provide theoretical [and liberal arts] training. It is certain that they will want to enter this field because the boom period has already come to an end and the time has already come for us to engage in serious work to reach our goals. If the plant owners would only make use of the technological development which has taken place in the world and would attempt, as much as possible, to utilize machines instead of people, they would economize quite a bit in terms of their labor force and it would consequently be possible for them to utilize Saudi employees to operate this machinery. Instead of having ten persons operate one piece of machinery, we could bring a new and advanced piece of machinery and hire one qualified person to operate it and could pay this one employee a good salary and provide him with incentives. In the end, the plants would gain from this. I believe that our plants have actually already begun to follow this policy. Furthermore, if the chambers of commerce and industry would work together with the owners of the plants and construct housing complexes in the industrial cities for the employees in the plants--housing complexes which would be provided with all types of health and educational services, etc.--this would keep it



from having to be necessary for each plant to build special housing for its employees and this would provide more encouragement for young Saudis to enter this professional field.

[Question] One of the psychological barriers which discourages young Saudis from entering the technical and industrial fields is the "university diploma complex" and the fact that society has greater respect for people who work in offices than it does for people who perform other types of jobs. What do you think of the idea of us at least attempting to solve the problem of the "university diploma complex" by establishing technical colleges which would be part of the universities and from which students would graduate with university diplomas?

[Answer] It is a matter of increasing people's awareness, and our social awareness is something which is gradually improving. Our opinion of electricians and mechanics is no longer what it used to be years ago. Furthermore, the whole thing will be decided in the end by the forces of economics. For example, 8 years ago our engineering students all wanted to specialize in civil engineering because, in those days, there was an urgent need for this specialization and civil engineers were needed everywhere. But the situation is different today and there is no longer much need for graduates with this specialization. Our students today are tending to go into electrical and mechanical engineering because the need in these two fields has become greater. Thus we find that things are being determined by the forces of economics, and it is not necessary for us to intervene and impose our wishes.

#### Industrialization of the Small Towns

[Question] Some people are of the opinion that it would be better to break up the large industrial complexes and distribute them in the form of smaller industrial complexes in the various regions of Saudi Arabia in accordance with the availability of the necessary raw materials and population density. They say that this would develop these different areas and provide jobs and opportunities for the inhabitants of these regions. Do you not agree with us that this is a reasonable proposition?

[Answer] Yes, I fully agree. This is, in fact, what is already happening and this is what we are anxious to see happen. We have made provisions to have industrial areas set up in a large number of both large and small towns in Saudi Arabia. Right now we are devoting more attention to requests to set up industrial plants in these areas, we are giving priority to these requests, and we are encouraging people to invest their capital in the establishment of industrial plants in these areas in order that we be able to achieve the development goals which you have mentioned.

[Question] To what degree are you encouraging foreign capital to be invested in industry in Saudi Arabia?



[Answer] The various governments of the world are scrambling to get the investments of the world's large industrial firms, but these firms are coming to us instead of us going to them--and this shows that we encourage such investment. These firms are very enthusiastic about setting up their projects in Saudi Arabia. Our market is the number one market in the Middle East. We offer very good terms for the construction of industrial plants and for the implementation of projects, and we provide even better terms when it comes to financial matters, currency conversions, banking services, etc. Also, our economy is not a controlled economy. Our economy is a free economy which is not impeded by troublesome laws or bothersome restrictions. We also have public security which most of the nations of the world do not have. We have a system of law which protects contracts, provides security of life and property, gives everyone what he is entitled to, and guarantees everyone his rights whether he is a Saudi citizen or a foreign guest. Ours is a system of social justice which one probably does not find in most of the nations of the world. All of these are factors and incentives which are very appealing to any investor in the world and would encourage him to invest his money in Saudi Arabia. We in the Ministry of Industry are opening up all doors and bridges to these investors and we are offering to provide them with all of the help and encouragement for investment that we can.

[Question] Let me ask you a frank question. Have any industrial plants recently gone bankrupt?

[Answer] Yes, some plants have gone bankrupt. In our case the situation is a very healthy one. If you have a situation where only 5 or 6 out of a total of 1,500 production plants go bankrupt, then this is quite a good record. In Japan, for example, 1,200 firms have declared bankruptcy, even though the Japanese economy is an excellent and a very strong economy. Our economy is a free one. In our economy capital must assume the risks of investment in each and every field. It is better to have one firm or ten firms suffer losses than it is to have the government take over the management of all of the plants, because the latter policy would result in having all of the plants fail and they would all suffer losses--as has happened and is still happening in the socialist nations.

[Question] Energy today is the basic element of every industry. The problem is that industrial plants at the present time mainly depend on electric power, the cost of which is primarily paid by the government. Perhaps this is all right today, but it may not be possible in the future. To what degree can we make use of alternatives to electricity which are cheaper and more abundant, such as gas and solar energy?

[Answer] This primarily depends on what type of industry is involved. In Saudi Arabia, energy does not generally cost more than 5 percent of the total production costs [of a given industrial plant], although in a few cases energy costs might constitute 25 or 30 percent of the total. However, in most Saudi industries the cost of energy constitutes only a very small part of the total production costs. We of course have natural gas. However, natural gas is not appropriate in the case of every industry.

[Question] In the case of the plants where the cost of energy constitutes from 25 to 30 percent of the total production costs, if these plants paid the real value of the electric power which they utilize, would this not increase production costs and consequently increase the prices of the products which they sell?

[Answer] Of course, it would to a certain degree. This is why I am demanding that we have consumption control and that we not waste energy. This is the proper solution.

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ACTIVITIES OF AFGHAN RESISTANCE IN PESHAWAR

Brussels KNACK in Dutch 18 May 83 pp 85-93

[Article by Sus van Elzen: "War, That Is Men's Work. Peshawar, Capital Of Afghan Resistance"]

[Text] Peshawar, February--What are Afghan women talking about among themselves behind the walls in the camps around Peshawar? One will never really know, women are not meant for communication here in the Asian mountains. The woman who covers her face but shows her little son on her arm with the words: "He will become a great mujahedin," a great warrior: what does she really mean? Communication is men's work. War is an outstanding example of men's work. And so is communication about the war. Other work is also man's work if there is no war.

[Answer] My men had stayed on the other side of the canyon but I had descended and I got a Russian tank after me. The tank shot at me but it missed. I ran up the opposite slope along a curving road, up, up, up, always out of the tank's view, behind the rock so that they could not shoot at me and, rumble, rumble, rumble, that tank after me. But the road ended at a terribly steep precipice and there was no way out except for going into the precipice.

Fortunately there was a bush there, I hung from it and rumble, rumble, rumble, the tank came and was rumbling above me at the edge of the precipice. If they would have come out of the tank, they would certainly have seen me, they could not have missed me but they did not dare to come out. Then, after some 15 minutes the tank turned around and drove off and when I came out of that precipice, I was completely black because of the diesel fumes. Later on we got that tank.

[Text] Men's work. In martial Peshawar guerillas are hanging around. When the sun is shining, they are everywhere; when it rains, they sit together under the awnings of the tea houses, with their big turbans, sipping tea. And they tell stories. These are the men the Russians are afraid of. In modern mythology Peshawar is getting the reputation of some sort of a James Bond city where the guerillas, the arms traders and the secret agents, the would-be politicians and the regular optimists do not only walk together but also know each other. A thrilling city with Deans

Hotel as the center of action: secret meetings in room such and such which the whole town knows about, winks out of the corner of the eye in the terrible, yet subdued restaurant (subdued light, subdued sound, subdued appetite) from where once in a while one can see sinister men with Pol Pot caps shuffle past the open door, and the taxi boss who knows where you want to go, always before you yourself know...

In fact it is a miserable business, dirty, everything gives a second-hand impression, a bit ramshackle and muddy: if James Bond is already here, then he must be eating noodles and have a 3-day beard.

The resistance is the resistance. It is as described: divided and heroic, there is no doubt about that. The various groups of mujahedin are better and better trained and are getting better and better weapons. Several groups are starting to cooperate for certain actions. The war which is being waged, is real and it is true that Western military experts agree on one point, namely that no one can win at the present state of affairs: not the Russians unless they would send many more soldiers into Afghanistan, and of course also not the mujahedin or the army of Kabul, the so-called Afghan National Army; people only talk about it to the extent to which it gets in the way. Therefore, the miserable war can drag on for years until a political solution appears and someone straightens things out.

But these days political solutions are hard to find; for the time being the Afghan resistance groups only think of fighting; the Soviet Union cannot easily be chased out of something they consider to be their own back yard especially not if by doing so they would make place for the Chinese. Yuriy Andropov may be powerful and according to rumors, very much inclined to withdraw from the Afghan blunder but he can also not make bricks without straw, change a situation into the opposite as if by magic, a situation which came about exactly because of the bungling of his predecessor and Afghan "allies". So, the Afghan resistance organizations as well as Peshawar and the Pakistan Government are preparing themselves for a definitely long stay of the Afghan refugees in Pakistan.

The Pakistan Government does not have any options, it is bound hand and foot to its own policy. First, because Pakistan is an "Islamic state: (and then it does not matter in this context that that Islam there is the vague ideological foundation of a very definite military dictatorship), and first of all the war is depicted as an Islamic holy war, a jihad conducted by their brothers-in-faith against the atheists from the Soviet Union. Second, because it is said that most refugee groups are half or more related to the population of the border provinces. They cannot be thrown out just like that; they owe them at least verbal support for their cause. Third, because Pakistan plays the American game in world politics for 100 percent--against India in the south and the Soviet Union in the north--and thanks to the Afghan war it can count on American arms supplies which otherwise may not have come. And fourth, because the war is a never hoped for "foreign threat" for the regime of Zia-ul-Haq, and it allows to lead the population's, India's and the world's attention away from the country's internal problems.

For all these reasons Pakistan sets itself up as "the defender of the Free West" or as a variant: of the "Free World" for anyone who cares to listen. Coming from a country where everything which is not obligatory, is forbidden, this may sound strange but one should understand the motives. For all these reasons Pakistan cannot start to complain, or at least not too much, about the flood of Afghan refugees entering the country: solidarity is obligatory. And yet, the refugees are starting to become a serious problem.

They are too many. It is not the people themselves but their number which causes difficulties. Peshawar is overpopulated, the Northwest Frontier province is saturated. Ecological disaster, deforestation, shortage of water, shortage of agricultural land--and of regular land to set up camps--, financial bleeding of a developing country which without this problem would already be in difficulties (Pakistan is one of the countries which take loans in order to be able to pay the interest on their debts), everything together, it is starting to get on the nerves of certain strata of the population.

Therefore, the government decided not to settle newly registered or newly arrived refugees in Peshawar or in the NWFP [Northwest Frontier Province] but further inland, in Mianwali in the Punjab province. All spokesmen say that it is normal and that there can be nothing against it but in fact, the refugees are removed from the border, from Afghanistan itself, and in many cases from their husbands, fathers and sons. This has something to do with the way in which the resistance organizations operate.

Those resistance organizations. We know it, they are as divided as possible and it is probable that many Afghans themselves have trouble making sense out of the maze of the divisions and subdivisions. But in all respects the Afghans are the only ones who could know. Part of the confusion is a result of the fact that everything is so terribly secret. And that what is not secret, is used in a never-ending propaganda war. Therefore, the list of spokesmen who can be approached and are somewhat reliable, in short. The Pakistan Government defends Pakistan's interests, which is normal. Usually this is expressed by declining to comment. The top men of the resistance organizations are always busy, outside with waging war itself, with eternal negotiations at different levels and in different directions: with the Pakistanis, with foreign "friends", and especially with the other resistance groups: planning alliances and combinations, trying to prevent weak alliances from falling apart. Every word, every bit of information becomes strategic in that case, and therefore, unreliable.

The most reliable source in Peshawar must be the professor who runs the /Afghan Information Center/: Said Majrooh, former dean at the University of Kabul, the only independent source, also the only one who keeps some intellectual distance from what goes on in the party. But also Majrooh cannot say everything: he needs to preserve the unstable balance which he achieved in his relations with the explosive resistance organizations.



There are two types of recognized resistance organizations which can more or less be grouped into three large organizations each: the fundamentalists and the moderate. A typical Peshawar-answer to the question what is the difference between the two, is that the moderate are not fundamentalistic. Both types refer to Islam just as fervently. In fact it could be summed up as follows: the fundamentalists want first of all to have an Islamic revolution, set up an Islamic republic where the example of Ayatollah Khomeyni may or may not be followed. On the other hand, for the "moderate" the emphasis is on the national liberation struggle which, as a matter of fact, is fought under the banner of Islam.

According to the leader of one of the moderate organizations, /Sayed Ahmad Gailani/, it is a matter of "ideology" and it has nothing to do with Islam: the two categories are based on a different view. The "moderate" (those are the 'Islamic Revolutionary Movement/, the /National Liberation Front/ and the /National Islamic Front/) want an Islamic regime for future Afghanistan, i.e. "a regime representing the ideals of the Afghan people". The other "extremist" wing "wants to force its will on the Afghan people".

But Gailani also speaks in so many words of the "defense of the Free World", a "defense which for incomprehensible reasons the West does not want to make good on." Maybe the West has become afraid? And the warm water theory which surfaces: the Russians want to push through to the Indian Ocean, the warm seas, in order to control the oil routes and the Persian Gulf. Why else would they have invaded Afghanistan? It is a hotch-potch of evidence, half-truths, wrong information which is supposed to sound good in the tea houses of Peshawar but which cannot be used at all for an analysis. Is that all the sheik has to say? Woe be to the Afghan people in that case! But confronted by the idea that the Russians may have invaded Afghanistan to be ahead of the Chinese, he raises his eyebrows, says, "well", or something like that in Pashtu, and then: "but apart from that..."

Is the strange mixture of pseudo-theories and disinformation meant to mislead unsuspecting reporters and does that man really know what he is saying or did the Afghan resistance not get as far as politics yet? The share of the Chinese in the Afghan affair--this aside--is the best-kept secret and the biggest taboo in Peshawar. This is not mentioned so purposely that the other taboo subject, the influence of revolutionary Iran, seems to be common property compared to it. At least one can be reasonably sure that the fundamentalist groups are influenced by the Khomeyni regime and strange stories are going around about certain Shi'ite tribes in the interior...

Theories aside, in at least one other respect Afghan resistance organizations did not get as far as politics yet: their endless divisiveness which sometimes can be marginally beneficial militarily, is resulting in their not being able to be a real interlocutor in the complicated, international discussions in search of a political solution. First of all, they contradict each other all the time; second, in this situation they are of course not capable of putting together a political project with any consensus which could be discussed at some negotiations. It seems that this

is one of Gailani's worries: the attempts to reach minimum consensus and cooperation in order to be taken seriously at an international level. But it seems that it will take a long time before the resistance groups will be able to put a project for their country on the table.

Meanwhile they are fighting on the react with surprised indignation to any suggestion that a military overall solution would not be feasible. Their men armed with knives, pistols and kalashnikovs, unconditionally do as they are told. After all, waging war is their real life. They go in for 3 months, wage war against the Russians, then cross the border again to rest for 3 months in Pakistan, to let their wounds heal and to have a breathing-spell with their family. It is not always exactly like that but it is happening more and more in an organized manner. But if that family were to live a couple of hundred kilometers further inland, would that not pose a problem? And would the wives be happy to live so much further from a husband who might return for a short while?

Pakistan settles refugees here, Pakistan settles refugees there and hopes there will be an end to it. But in the beginning they were only allowed to live in tents; now buildings are going up, be it from mud. The men are encouraged not to live off the refugee aid only but to try to be self-supporting by looking for work and developing skills because, otherwise the day when the international aid ceases or decreases drastically, could be a black day, also for Pakistan. But where did we see this also: settled refugees, driven away by force but yet armed, who for hours stare at their country across the border? In Palestine. A possible "Palestine effect" among the Afghan refugees who have been displaced for too long a period already, could pose much larger problems for Pakistan than it has now. This is another reason for the government to start looking for a political solution if the Afghan resistance does not do it.

#### PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. p 85. Left: In the tea houses of Peshawar mujahedin sit together on a vacation, killing time.
2. p 85. Right: Resistance leader Sayed Ahmad Gailani: defending the Free World.
3. p 85. Below: A shop in a refugee camp: Pakistan invites the men to try to become self-supporting.
4. p 88. A resistance fighter who got wounded and opened a shop in Nasir Bagh camp. The posted literature shows Khomeini's influence in the resistance.
5. p 93. The Pakistan Government is bound hand and foot to its own policy.

PDPA CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER ADDRESSES MEETING ON LAND, WATER REFORM

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 1 Mar 84 pp 1-2, 4

[Text] Text of speech of Sultan Ali Keshtmand, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the PDPA and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the DRA delivered at the concluding session of the seminar on the implementation of land and water reforms which was held in Kabul from February 26 to 28, 1984.

Dear comrades,

At the outset let me pose a question: why have the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan decided to convene such an important session and seminar?

For the reason that the responsible officials of party and state organs particularly on the level of province correctly realise the significance of great revolutionary cause in the country in the present stage, that is, the land and water reforms.

Comrades,

Our three-day long important session and seminar on the implementation of land and water reforms in the country is nearing its conclusion. During these days, useful discussions and debates took place in connection with this important and vital issue of present stage of evolution of our society and revolution. Great many views were expressed, problems were identified and the ways for their solution were searched. Participants became familiar with the policy and the decisions of the party and the government, in this regard. More important than all, readiness for fulfilling this great and important task of the party and the government, was expressed and specific decisions were adopted.

We had the possibility in the session to derive important results from the profound and theoretically and practically rich speech of Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the PDPA and President of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA, for improving work, removing defects and accelerating the process of land and water reforms in the country.

Babrak Karmal delivered an important political speech on the basis of the experience accumulated during the implementation of land reforms in the country and taking into account the international experience of the countries where land reforms have been accomplished, and the specific conditions and the characteristics of Afghan society. This speech contains the specific directives for improved implementation of land and water reforms in the country.

The Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the Council of Ministers of the DRA have expressed full support to the pronouncements of Babrak Karmal, and assigned us to put them in practice.

Comrades,

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the party of working class and all working people of Afghanistan had undertaken a great task, i.e. to bring the revolution to victory and to take political power in the country. This task was successfully accomplished. The revolution was supported by the workers, intellectuals and peasants who had suffered from the feudal tyranny for centuries, and this was a great success.

Babrak Karmal emphasised the point already. However, it is necessary to note once more that our revolution is a national and democratic revolution possessing anti-feudal character. It was confirmed in all documents of the party and our government that the distribution of land to the peasants that is, the carrying out of democratic land reforms is one of the most major objectives and duties of the national and democratic revolution: It is repeated once again that this aim and duty are fundamental, because they have a direct link with the interests of millions of peasantry.

The full abolition of feudal and bureaucratic system is possible only when the landless peasants become the owners of the land, that is when the landless peasants and petty land holders become land owners and receive land through the distribution of lands of feudal lords and bit land holders. The complete abolition of feudal relations would pave the way for improving the life of peasants, workers and all people of Afghanistan. This is the principle aim of our party. Therefore, the implementation of land reforms is not only one of the major socio-economic factor, but it is an important political goal. If we wished the happiness and well-being of the people, we should successfully accomplish the land and water reforms.

Dear comrades,

The history of revolutionary movement in the country and the history of other revolutions that triumphed in the world, are the testimony to the fact that the tyrant and exploiting ruling classes do not give up their privileges easily. This was observed during the implementation of first phase of land reforms in the country.

Today, we would not talk much about the shortcomings and mistakes of the first phase of democratic land reforms. However, we would recall that the first stage of land reforms was accomplished without fully realising the class essence and anti-feudal characteristics. A huge number of lands of big land



holders remained untouched and the small land holdings were further fragmented into smaller pieces. In this connection we will talk in detail later.

In view of this situation, in the new phase of the April Revolution, a joint commission of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the Council of Ministers of the DRA was formed under the leadership of Babrak Karmal to comprehensively sort-out all issues related to the land reforms and the growth of agriculture in the country.

Comparatively important work for assessing the situation in rural areas from the view point of the implementation of land reforms was accomplished in provinces and in a number of districts and sub-districts.

Important amendments and addenda to the Decree No 8 of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on land and the law on land management, were adopted and important legal documents were approved. Because of these amendments a great bottle-neck was removed and now we are not forced any-more to divide the land into very small pieces.

Reflected in the new statutory documents was the new approach of the party and the revolutionary government in connection with the implementation of land and water, reforms according to the conditions obtaining in the country.

Under the conditions of an undeclared war which is continued by the world imperialism and regional reaction against our country and keeping in view the complicated situation in the country our approach, during the implementation of land reforms, towards the issue of land ownership is a calculated one. We should attract towards the revolution the personalities having reputation among the people including the heads of tribes, high-ranking employees of past regimes who presently defend the revolution, spiritual figures and officers loyal to the revolution who may be owning land. There has been no revolution which did not take into account such characteristics, and the specific internal conditions of a country. Therefore, this permitted the emergence of the principled view that ceiling for distribution of land should not be limited to five jeribs (one hectare), as was registered in the decree No 8. Presently, the legal ceiling of distribution of land, has been fixed between five jeribs (one hectare) to 30 jeribs (five hectares).

In case we allocate one hectare of land to a big peasant family, it would not suffice for such families, and they would be forced to become lumpen proletariat, and this is not in conformity with the aims of the national and democratic revolution.

About this, Babrak Karmal has extensively spoken. I can add that lumpen proletarians have never been the revolutionary forces.

In case there is not enough land for distribution among the peasants the industry will grow and the ranks of workers will expand. Moreover, the living conditions of peasants cannot improve without the growth of heavy and light industries. This is the social law that the improvement of peasants' life depends on the growth of industries and the cooperation of workers, and this cannot be possible without the assistance of the revolutionary government.



In the course of next 10 to 15 years, we can establish by utilising our own possibilities and the assistance of great Soviet Union, the honest and great friend of the people of Afghanistan and other fraternal socialist countries, bit industries in Afghanistan and render great assistance to the peasants. Our country is rich from the point of view of mineral resources while the main source of manpower is our peasantry.

Comrades,

Let us make conclusions on the basis of your own assessments in connection with the implementation of first phase of land reforms. The operational groups of land reforms have worked under your supervision. The state of the implementation of land reforms has been evaluated in 40 districts and sub-districts, in 28 provinces. On the basis of this evaluation according to the report of Ministry of Agriculture and Land Reforms, 77,818 peasantry families had received 66.7 thousand hectares (333.5 jeribs) of land during the first phase of land reforms, that is, every family received less than one hectare of land. I personally have realised this during my talks with peasants. The peasants of Badakhshan, Nimroz, Balkh, Helmand and other provinces have said that some of their limited lands which did not exceed 8 to 10 jeribs, were taken from them and were distributed to landless peasants. They frankly expressed their dissatisfaction and said that for what reason half of the land of their families each consisting of 5-6 members had been taken from them and handed over to others. This was one of the main factors for the displeased middle peasants falling victim to the trap of counter-revolution.

You comrades see that should we continue such deeds, how great political mistakes we would be committing.

Therefore, the party and the revolutionary government proceeding from their new approach presently do not divide land into smaller pieces. We want to attract the middle peasants towards the revolution. It is our great hope that all peasants would support the revolution. With the cooperation of toiling peasants we would wage fierce struggle against the big land-holders.

That is why the party of working class be defending the interests of working peasants, ensures the unity of the workers and peasants.

In this connection, the evaluation of Babrak Karmal about the classification of the society receives our serious support.

We refer again to the data. From among the 77,818 peasant families who had received 66.7 thousand hectares of land during the first stage of land reforms in 40 districts and sub-districts in 28 provinces, 53.2 per cent of land has been cultivated by the peasants, 33 per cent was forcibly taken from ownership of the peasants and recaptured by the former owners, and 13 per cent has not been cultivated at all due to the lack of water. Seventy per cent of peasants who received land, had the land title deeds and others either did not have the ownership documents or had hidden them because of fear of the miscreants.

What conclusions can be made from the data. The fact is that according to the aforementioned evaluations, each of the 13,634 land holders mentioned above has retained over 30 jeribs of land or an aggregate of 226.3 thousand hectares of land in their possession.

This information was collected under your supervision, i.e., of secretaries of provincial party committees, governors and responsible officials of agriculture and land reforms. We officially recognise them and trust them. However, the question is: the lands which were distributed to peasants, had belonged to whom? Why the lands of big land holders who have more than 30 jeribs of land and their total land holdings are three times greater than the lands which have been distributed to the peasants, have remained intact, and not been distributed?

We say that our revolution is anti-feudal. However, the land has remained in the hands of feudals and the land of middle peasants has been taken from them. What conclusion can be made from this situation? Many of the feudals evaded the process of land reforms, through bribery and deceit and the party and state organs in provinces, districts and sub-districts closed their eyes to this situation. Here again a question arises as to how the revolution can be brought to its final victory with closed eyes. From this reality a conclusion can be made that the party and its members should not in any case the class sense, class perception, class approach and class struggle.

Respected comrades,

Let me repeat once again the important political principle on which Babrak Karmal laid emphasis in his speech that the toiling peasants are the main support of our revolution, and this should be taken into account during the implementation of land reforms.

The toiling peasants from the class point of view are divided into different strata which include: landless peasants, petty land holders and middle peasants. The landless peasants have no production implements and are empty-handed. They lead an unpleasant life and in fact they are the working agricultural labour. If they do not become the owners of land, they will be forced to work for land lords or will go to cities and or abroad. The landless peasants are mercilessly exploited by the land lords and come under their domination and become dependent on them.

If the petty land holders who usually have no work implements and particularly the families with more members do not receive more land as a result of land reforms, will per force be exploited by the land lords, and or for gaining bread for their families, they would desert the work on their lands.

The middle peasants can supply food to their families and sell part of their agricultural products to bazaar. They are under the influence of big land lords, and a polarization is continuing among them. Some of them would be changed to landless peasants and some of them to comparatively big land lords. We have such examples at our disposal that during the recent years, a number of middle peasants by using the high prices of agricultural products, have become the owners of more land and become wealthy.

Although the situation of peasants from the view point of class stratification varies from region to region, the general conclusion is what we discussed above. There is a serious need to keep in view these evaluations so as not to perpetuate mistakes and if a mistake takes place at all that should be smaller as compared to the past.

Respected comrades,

In the session and during the two-day seminar, you have become fully familiar with legal documents, and have realised all issues in connection with land reforms. Now, in accordance with the legal documents in your hand, you can distribute the lands of feudals and big land holders by keeping in view the interests of different groups of peasants and in the first place to a peasant who has no land. Attention should be paid to dealing with caution with the middle peasants in order that their interests are not damaged. Decisive struggle should be carried forward against big land lords for distributing their lands to landless and petty land holders. We have removed all legal obstacles such as extra payment by the peasants for receiving land title deeds and the payment of surplus lands and others with the last amendment. The way for the speedy accomplishment of land reforms has presently been paved from the view points of politics and economy. From August 22, 1983 to January 19, 1984, 18,770 peasantry families have received land as a result of land reforms, I think this figure is accurate.

As it was stressed by Babrak Karmal, incharges and employees of the party and government, agriculture and irrigation should go to rural areas among the peasants, conform peasants councils for distribution of land and peasants' co-operatives for the use of water, precisely evaluate the situation and resort to vast political work and publicity among the people, particularly, all active forces of the party and the government should be mobilised for fulfilling this important goal in areas and villages which have remained without state control.

Comrades,

As was stated by Babrak Karmal, the complete implementation of land reforms should not take a period of more than two years' time. It should be confidently said that the successful accomplishment of land and water reforms and its harmonisation with the ensurance of security in rural areas and the villages of the country, will be improved. Despite the economic limitations and difficulties the government has access to the possibilities to render necessary assistance to peasants. In case, the big land owners and feudal lords resort to armed resistance during the accomplishment of land reforms, they will decisively be crushed. And, this is the main task of zonal headquarters and provinces. The work of establishment of local governments based on the law of local organs of state power and administration will begin, and we link the work of accomplishment of land reforms with the work of implementation of the new law.

Comrades,

This is the serious order of the party and the government so that the work of implementation of land reforms should be undertaken parallel to the materialisation of the law of local organs of state power and administration and with the work of expansion and consolidation of state power in localities. Of course, the accomplishment of this great goal is impossible without the observance and consolidation of iron discipline of party and government and without raising the level of responsibility and interrogation. Therefore, while evaluating your work, we see what have you done.

The discipline and unity and oneness of the party ranks are the serious demand of life and necessity for fulfilling important tasks of the party and the government.

In our party, there is no contradiction on the significance of land reforms and on the work of its accomplishment. The party unity should be consolidated based on the progressive ideological principles and all party members should think and act as a united body. Those who damage the unity of the party, all fractionists and violators in the party, will be controlled.

As it was reiterated by Babrak Karmal: "Every party member should have a fair and humane attitude towards the peasants. If a person does not want to take this into account, will receive severe party punishment, and in addition to that, the government can summon to a trial such persons who create problems on the way of work with the people.

All these issues can only be solved through the consolidation of the discipline of party and state and raising the level of responsibility and investigation. The new discipline of work as was taught by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin states that the new forms of social relations among the people create the new methods for attracting the people to work.

At present difficult moments of struggle for rebuffing the imperialist aggressions launched from abroad and crushing banditism in the country successes can be achieved in all spheres only through performing of creative and undetachable work, tolerance, consistency, preparedness, decisiveness, and tested capability and prior to all through the consolidation of iron discipline.

Every party member should know the great significance of the discipline and not only realise that the interests of working people are prior to all, but, should decisively act towards this end.

While working with the people in their interests, we should take into account their demands and inclinations. It is necessary that our conduct in this connection should be persistent and principled to the end. The spiritual figures and reputable patriotic persons should be attracted towards the revolution. Endowed lands should be given to the spiritual figures and settlers of holy places during the process of land reforms and respect should be paid to their useful advices in the peasants' councils for the distribution of land. We have continuously expressed our respect to the tribal heads who support the revolution, and in a special manner we take into consideration their



ownership to their lands within the permissible ceiling. In case, feudal lords and big land holders realise the situation and interests of the revolution and do not create obstacles for the accomplishment of land and water reforms, their ownership of land within the permissible ceiling will be respected.

The cooperation of different classes and strata of people for ensuring nationwide peace in the country, is a necessity and in the interests of the revolution. This understanding and correct political conduct of our party is for expanding and consolidating the revolutionary process in the country.

Comrades,

We have created the Union of Peasants' Cooperatives of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan which constitutes a part of the National Fatherland Front of the DRA. It was an important measure in the series of social reforms. The Union of Peasants' Cooperatives ensures the relationship of the working people with the government in the field of domestic trade, i.e., for selling the primary goods to peasantry families and direct sale of extra agricultural production of peasants to the urban working people. In accordance with the policy of the party, we support the establishment of such cooperatives supply and sales cooperations in all provinces, districts and sub-districts. The activists of such co-operatives make the life of peasants more easy and better. Peasants can get industrial commodities at fixed prices and sell their agricultural products without the existence of brokers and middlemen. And, this is important means of struggle against anarchy in supply and distribution. The party and the government will assign all party and state organs in localities to cooperate for the establishment of such cooperatives and their successful activities.

It is worth mentioning that these cooperatives are not the cooperatives of agricultural production, however, some type of them also resort to productive work, i.e., the handicraft, this is the characteristics of our society. Peasants who have lost their land and have no way to return to agriculture, have resorted to productive work, handicrafts in the rural and urban areas, should be organised in the cooperatives. Such cooperatives should also be assisted, and included in the union of peasants' cooperatives, because they oftenly use agricultural and animal products for their own activities, and have the origin of peasants and rural proletariat.

Similarly, on the basis of strategic policy of our party for future prospects, we seriously side for the establishment of cooperatives of agricultural products. Such cooperatives would have special significance for the transition from old methods of agricultural production to new methods, in increasing the agricultural outputs and organising and mobilising peasants, and will be an outstanding model of work in the field of agricultural production, however, in any way, the agricultural production cooperatives will be formed through the voluntary participation of peasants.



The establishment of agricultural production cooperatives is not the slogan of the day of our party, but our slogan is that land should be given to every peasant. This situation, this slogan originates from the political and social factors of our society. Such cooperatives have different forms and different opinions exist about them. For example, peasants who have at their disposal from five to 30 jeribs of land, have different opinions, positions and interests, because, not only joint work but common land is necessary in the productive cooperatives. Another form of such cooperatives can also be created in which the quantity and even the area of ownership of every individual are fixed in the cooperative, however, in this way the big land holders would become rich at the cost of others' labour.

Any how, at present situation and conditions, stress on the establishment of agricultural productive cooperatives would create great deal of hardships on the path of land reforms, therefore, haste should not be made to this end.

Landless peasants and petty land holders have dreamt for centuries and during their whole life to have a piece of land. Let it be as stated by great Lenin that the peasants receive land and satisfy from its smell. Lenin had paid attention to the mentality and spirits of peasants and had said that gentle and kind conduct should be made towards them. Time would come that government would possess the possibilities for delivering vast and allsided assistance to productive cooperatives. At that time on voluntary bases, the slogan of countrywide cooperativisation will be schemed.

At present, under the conditions of undeclared war of imperialism and reaction against our country, our possibilities for rendering vast and allsided assistance to productive cooperatives, are limited, and we cannot allocate our limited economic resources to cooperatives. However, under such conditions, necessary primary assistance are rendered to the peasants who have received land and had been landless and had held petty land, and middle peasants and as well as the existing cooperatives.

Babrak Karmal has correctly expressed that serious protection should be given to the existing productive cooperatives and grounds for establishment of these cooperatives should be appropriated in the future.

The attention of secretaries of provincial party committees, governors and heads of agriculture and land reforms in provinces is drawn to this and similarly for the growth and expansion and improvement of activities of state-owned agricultural farms and for fruitful use of state lands. This fact should be seriously taken into view that we cannot be in the position not to think for the future of peasants. The future of peasants is their voluntary participation in the cooperatives of agricultural production, cooperativisation of agriculture in the country.

The important, urgent and big issue for fulfilling the land reforms and assisting peasants, and growth of agriculture in the country is the issue of irrigation. In the conditions of Afghanistan, land cannot yield anything without water, of course the dry lands have separate characteristics. The importance

of the issue is pointed out to the Ministry of Irrigation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and irrigational institutions in provinces.

Afterwards, the Ministry of Irrigation ought not to present only such reports that some hundred thousand and some million cubic metres of digging and cleaning work has been accomplished, but along with that it should present reports that how many old irrigational systems it rehabilitated and repaired and how many networks and new irrigation systems it has established, particularly, how many peasants have received sufficient, and more water, and what quantity of water has been distributed to the peasants who are busy with the cultivation of important technical plants, cotton and sugar beet.

The party and state organs, particularly, the irrigation institutes in provinces by employing the means at their disposal and by organising collective works for cleaning canals and repairing irrigational systems, should practically assist the peasants and through this way should also render assistance for the security of villages and towns.

The Soviet Union has rendered and is rendering great economic and technical assistance for improving irrigational conditions in our country. The Soviet experts render valuable cooperation for fulfilling measures for repair and rehabilitation of irrigational networks. Maximum and correct utilisation should be made from this assistance.

The party and the government utilise all efforts to supply sufficient water for peasants, and to this end, every year big investments are allocated in the plans of socio-economic growth of the country.

Comrades,

The fulfilment of land and water reforms in the country is a great and main task of all party and state organs and a great national cause of ours. To assess this great cause and task, members of the Central Committee of the party, the Revolutionary Council and Council of Ministers will be dispatched to provinces and localities. In the Politburo of the Central Committee of the party and the Council of Ministers numerous reports will be heard from the secretaries of provincial party committees and governors concerning the accomplishment of this goal and the great task which is the principled order of our party, and level of demand and investigation in this regard will be raised.

Comrades,

It can be confidently expressed that the implementation of land and water reforms in the country be successfully accomplished up to the end. We forge ahead to the end for the construction of new, democratic society void of exploitation of man by man the main aim of which is to ensure welfare of working people and to meet their material and moral demands.

Comrades, who are in the front line of struggle for the solution of difficult issues in provinces and localities and for accomplishing great national task and the main aim of the revolution, i.e., the implementation of land and water reforms, have heavy responsibilities on your shoulders. I wish great and bright success for you.

OVERSEAS CORRESPONDENTS PROTEST CENSORSHIP

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 3 Mar 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] The Overseas Correspondents Association Bangladesh (OCAB) yesterday urged the authorities to take appropriate measures to ensure that such "invisible censorship" is not imposed on reports from correspondents representing foreign media in Bangladesh, says ENA.

In a joint statement to the press President of OCAB Hassan Shariar and General Secretary Alamgir Hossain said while the government publicly announced that there is no press censorship in the country foreign media correspondents are being discriminated.'

The statement said:

The government has time and again announced publicly that there was no press censorship in Bangladesh. But it pains us to say that correspondents representing foreign media are being discriminated. It has been brought to our notice that press telex and press cable messages filed at the International Telegraph Office (ITO), Dhaka on March 1 Martal were subjected to consorship. Most of the copies were sent out to their respective destinations a day later, that is today (2-3-1984) after censorship. It is needless to say that if a news story is sent next day it carries no value.

The matter was brought to the notice of the principal Information Office of the government in the evening of March 1 who as usual said there was no censorship in the country. We are sorry to say that he made no initiative to justify his own statement.

Yesterday (1-3-1984) was not the lone exception. It has happened several times in the past despite government's firm assurances that there was no press censorship. The reason was, however, never explained.

While we deeply regret the imposition of censorship on the reports of foreign media we hope that the authorities would take appropriate measures to ensure that such 'invisible censorship does not take place in the future. If the government imposed censorship let it be official. The government has no reason to feel shy about it.

JANADAL OFFICIAL SUSPECTS FOREIGNERS BEHIND UNREST

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 4 Mar 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] Mr. Shamsul Huda Chowdhury, Vice President of Janadal yesterday said, 'Financially backed by foreign countries, the constituent parties of the 15-party alliance are out to isolate the country's powerful political party Awami League from the people'.

He was addressing a meeting held on the first day of the week launched by Janadal at the party central office at Road No. 4 Dhanmandi Residential Area to protest against, what they termed, 'killing, looting and subversive activities' by some political parties in the name of Hartal on March 1.

Presided over by S. A. Khaleque the protest meeting was also addressed among others by Party General Secretary Dr. M. A. Matin, Shah Moazzem, Sheikh Shahidul Islam, Saeed Tareq, Hazi Selim, Shamsuzzaman Mintu, S. R. Farooqui, Ziauddin Bablu, Mahbubul Huq Dulan, Ismail Hossain Bengal, Saidur Rahman Manik, Ahmed Mirza Khabir and Arshad Hossain.

Dr. Matin said the activities of opposition parties would be decisive in determining whether the country would be a victim of international conspiracies or remain an independent country.

He said Janadal would try to keep patience in the face of any provocation and reminded the opposition parties not to take this as a weaknest.

Dr Matin said that only presidential and parliamentary elections would prove with whom indeed the people were wita.

The Secretary-General of the party urged the party workers to create public opinion in favour of the upazila elections and resist any attempts to foil it.

CSO: 4600/1672

JANADAL SECRETARY ADDRESSES 5 MARCH RALLY

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 5 Mar 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] Janadal Secretary General Dr. M. A. Matin on Sunday alleged that the violence triggered off by the opposition alliances had created a situation that might jeopardise the independence of the country, reports ENA.

The Janadal Secretary General was addressing a party workers' rally at Mouchak on the second day of the Resistance Week being observed by his party to protest what it said "terrorism by the opposition alliances".

Questioning the logic of boycotting Upazila as well as national polls by the opposition Dr. Matin said political parties, particularly those in the opposition always insist on holding polls. All over the world it is the political parties which launch movement against military regimes to hold elections to restore democracy. Ballot is the only means by which political parties come to power and implement their respective programmes.

But he said the two alliances in Bangladesh contrary to the practice and philosophy of political parties are opposing polls and trying to deprive the people of their right to franchise. He said it is necessary to make a probe into their objectives.

Dr. Matin said the opposition alliances were trying to stop the polls & create a situation to come to power through "back door" so that they could serve their foreign masters.

He said the fifteen-party alliance's main component Bangladesh Awami League is known to the people as the party which had "butchered democracy" in 1975 by terrorising their own party members in Parliament. He said the lofty principles of the constitution of 1972 for all practical purposes remained an "eyewash". The Awami League, he said while in power never allowed democracy to operate.

He said in the same way a coterie of power-elite in Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) after the death of President Zia tried to pocket the party by letting loose, "miscreants" against the democratic forces.



He said he as home minister of the then government had exposed these forces. He alleged the opposition alliances were trying to create a situation by using the miscreants" once again. He said the Janadal would expose those forces with the help of the people.

Dr. Matin refuted the allegation that the decentralisation of powers to "Upazila" was not in accordance with the provisions of the constitution.

He pointed out that the Constitution of 1972 under its Article 9 of Schedule two provides that local body institutions should be strengthened to widen the opportunity for participation of people in development programmes at local level.

He said by delegating substantial powers to Upazila councils the present government had implemented an important provision of the Constitution.

He said the opposition alliances were opposing the Upazila polls because they did not want the people in rural areas to have the opportunity to take part in development programme. He said the ulterior real objective of the opposition is to keep all powers concentrated in the hands of urban elite.

CSO: 4600/1674

COMMUNIST PARTY ISSUES APPEAL TO EASE TENSION

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 6 Mar 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] Communist Party of Bangladesh (CPB) has once again called upon the government to come forward to normalise the present tense situation in the country by postponing the upazila elections and conceding to the five-point demands.

In a length written statement to the press last night, the central secretariat of the CPB said the people had given their verdict en masse in favour of postponement of the upazila elections through the observance of March 1 hartal.

There is no minimum atmosphere for holding the upazila elections in the country now, the Communist Party said adding that a large number of candidates had already withdrawn nomination papers and those who were still contestants had gone into hiding or had been under police guard turning the election into a farce.

The central secretariat of the CPB reiterated its call to the government to release all political leaders including Sheikh Hasina, Khaleda Zia, Manjurul Ahsan, Abdul Mannan Shah Aziz and Belayet Hossain and withdraw all warrants of arrest.

The CPB demanded trial of and proper punishment to the killers of Tajul, Selim, Delwar and Saiful and those responsible for the Agriculture University incidents. The party also demanded restoration of the right to open political activities and an end to all kinds of vandalism and terror.

CSO: 4600/1675

COUNTRY ELECTED CHAIRMAN OF BOARD OF ISLAMIC DEVELOPMENT BANK

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 5 Mar 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] JEDDAH, March 4: Bangladesh has been unanimously elected Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Islamic Development Bank (IDB) at the eighth annual meeting of the Board now being held here, reports BSS.

The Board have also accepted the Bangladesh offer to hold its ninth annual meeting in Dhaka in February 1985.

The Board of Governors meeting of the IDB was inaugurated on Saturday by the Governor of Makkah Prince Majed Bin Abdul Aziz.

A Bangladesh delegation led by the Secretary External Resources Division and Governor ad-interim for Bangladesh Mr. Mofizur Rahman, is attending the Board meeting of the Bank.

Making a statement before the Board meeting, the leader of Bangladesh delegation, Mr. Mofizur Rahman, stressed that the Bank should give special attention to at least two broad areas: first, larger volume of softer term assistance for infrastructural projects alongside agricultural and irrigation projects. Second, increasing and softer term financing for foreign trade.

Mr. Rahman said that mobilisation of adequate resources was essential to realise these two objectives.

He said that Bangladesh had voiced these requirements in the annual meeting of IDB in the past, in the 14th ICFM in Dhaka and in the Fourth Islamic Summit Conference in Casablanca. And we shall continue to do so till these requirements are fully met through adoption and implementation of a definite programme, Mr. Rahman said.

The leader of the Bangladesh delegation said that the meeting was being held at a time when the economic situation of the member countries of the Bank had been very seriously affected by the unprecedented global recession.

He said that this situation urgently called for more determined and better co-ordinated efforts among the member-countries for fostering speedy economic development and social progress of the Ummah and for improving the quality of life of the people in the Islamic countries.

BRIEFS

**BANGLADESH-EEC MEETING**--The thirteenth meeting of the Bangladesh--EEC joint Sub-Commission ended in Dhaka on Monday covering a "large number" of issues on economic and commercial cooperation between the two sides reports BSS. The two-day exercise which ended with a "positive note" was preparatory to the ministerial level Bangladesh-EEC Joint Commission meeting to be held in the Community's headquarters in Brussels in July next. The leader of the Bangladesh delegation at the talks and Joint Secretary of the Ministry of Commerce Mr. Akhtar Ali, told newsmen at the end of the meeting that there were "good" exchange of views on various issues in the talks which were held in an atmosphere of "cooperation and understanding". Mr. Richard Loius Administrator in the Office of the Director General of External Relations of the EEC and leader of the visiting five-member delegation also spoke to the news men. Mr Ali said that besides the economic and commercial cooperation and sectoral agreements and the EEC aid to Bangladesh also came under review in the meeting. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 6 Mar 84 p 1]

**AMBASSADOR TO GUATEMALA**--The Government has decided to concurrently accredit Mr. Humayun Rasheed Chowdhury at present Ambassador of Bangladesh to the United States of America as Bangladesh Ambassador to Guatemala according to a Foreign Ministry Press release reports BSS. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 6 Mar 84 p 3]

**ROK ENVOY NAMED**--Mr. Chang Ki An has been appointed ambassador of the Republic of Korea to Bangladesh, reports BSS. Born on October 20, 1928, Mr. Ki An graduated from College of Law, Korea University in 1953. A career diplomat he joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1954. He served the Korean embassies in Mexico, Brazil and Venezuela in 1981 he became ambassador to Fiji. Mr. Ki An is married and has three sons and one daughter. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 4 Mar 84 p 3]

**JATIYA OIKYA FRONT**--Jatiya Oikya Front in a meeting of its presidium on Friday observed with resentment that the obstinacy and hypocrisy of the government has worsened the country's political situation. It was expected that a peaceful solution would be arrived at through discussion. The Front is opposed to the idea of extension of military rule even for a day, it said. Any expenditure for national level election would be borne by the candidate himself, his party or alliance and certainly not from the public exchequer



the meeting observed. The administrative machinery must not be used in the election and it must be free from government influence in the interest of free and fair polls. It also felt that no military or civil servant would be allowed to contest the election or participate in the canvas. The Front would continue to resist hegemonism and expansionism and light for an end to the military rule, the meeting said. The Oikya Front participated in the political dialogue with the Government hoping to arrive at a peaceful solution of the political problem. It also submitted its written recommendations in favour of postponement of upazila election but those have gone unheeded the meeting noted. Khondaker Mushtaque Ahmed, Chairman of the presidium was in the chair. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 4 Mar 84 p 1]

FEATURE NEWS SERVICE--A Depth News Agency Namely National Feature Service of Bangladesh NFSB has recently been set up with a view to producing information and fruitful feature for the press, Radio and TV on existing problems of the society to build a happy and prosperous Nation, says a press release. The Chief Editor of NFSB Mr. Mizanur Rahman Mahbub has embarked on this venture with Several years involvement with many well known Newspapers of the country behind him. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 6 Mar 84 p 3]

JAMAAT-E-ISLAMI CALL--Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh on Saturday demanded immediate transfer of power to the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court so that he could form a non-political care taker government. A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Party maintained that the care taker government would fix the date of parliamentary election in consultation with the political parties. The meeting was presided over by Mr Abbas Ali Khan, Acting Ameer of the Party. The meeting in another resolution congratulated the candidates who had withdrawn their nominations for upazila elections and called upon other contestants to do the same. "If they fail to respond to the appeal they will be considered as enemies of democracy" it said. The meeting expressed its deep resentment against the decision to hold both presidential and parliamentary polls on the same day. It observed that the announcement with regard to holding both the polls on the same day without postponing upazila election would lead to a difficult situation for the country. Mr Abbas Ali Khan and Manulana A K M Yusuf, Acting Ameer and Secretary General respectively of Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh, in a joint statement called upon the people to make the party programme up to March 24 a success. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 4 Mar 84 pp 1, 8]

CSO: 4600/1676

## DEAL TO BUY RADAR TUBES FROM UNITED STATES REPORTED

Madras THE HINDU in English 6 Mar 84 p 1

[Text] NEW DELHI, March 5. After protracted negotiations involving political clearance, the Ministry of Defence has signed an agreement with a U.S. company, Varian Corporation of California, for the transfer of highly sophisticated technology for manufacture under licence by Gharat Electronics Limited of 16 different electronic tubes for radar equipment.

The U.S. Department of Commerce, Defence and State have approved the transaction on conditions acceptable to India, without insisting that the agreement would be subject to both existing and future legislation covering technology transfers in such cases.

Though the amount of \$12 millions involved in this transaction is quite small compared with other defence agreements, it has considerable significance in the sense that it opens the way for a limited military supply relationship between India and the U.S. which could progressively extend to the sale of more important categories of equipment. It has also led to the resumption of talks on an inter-governmental memorandum of understanding (MOU) to govern all such transactions without having to negotiate separately the political or legal conditions applicable in each case.

For example, a deal with the Bendix Corporation of the U.S. for purchase and manufacture under licence of sonar equipment for aerial detection of submarines by hunter-killer Sea King helicopters acquired by the Indian Navy from Britain could not be finalised, because the U.S. Government was not prepared to waive the restrictions that it was bent on imposing on this transaction. The contract finally went to France with which India had already a comprehensive MOU to ensure that the supplying firm would adhere to the agreed terms for technology transfer and assured sale of spare parts.

Attempt given up: The Indian bid to buy from the U.S. 155 mm howitzers, machine guns and TOW missiles for anti-tank warfare had to be abandoned because of the U.S. refusal two or three years ago to collaborate in indigenous production and assure uninterrupted supply of spares and ammunition. It should be possible to reopen these talks if a satisfactory MOU could be worked out providing for such basic assurances.

Despite the absence of an agreed approach to it, the two Government have kept the issue open in the hope that at some stage it might be possible to evolve a mutually acceptable formulation. It is India's expectation that the U.S. would finally relent since Washington is no less interested in reducing India's excessive dependence on the Soviet Union for defence equipment.

A real improvement in Indo-American relations cannot, however, be brought about through memoranda of understanding or defence sales. The relations can improve if the U.S. accepts without any reservations India's stabilising role and peaceful pursuits in and around the sub-continent and logically refrain from persisting in its folly of arming Pakistan.

There can be no serious dialogue on these fundamental aspects in a year when both countries remain fully preoccupied with their elections. But the two Governments could at least ensure that no new strains develop in their relations before they come to grips again with the task of better relations.

Special attention: It is against this general background that the latest agreement signed on Saturday for transfer of technology for the manufacture of some sophisticated electronic items for Defence has attracted special attention. And its coincidence with the visit of the Soviet Defence Minister, Marshal Dmitri Ustinov, has its own lesson for all concerned, not the least to the two superpowers of India's earnest effort for diversification of its defence purchases and continued quest for greater self-reliance wherever possible.

CSO: 4600/1659

REPORTAGE ON VISIT OF SOVIET DEFENSE MINISTER

5 March Meeting With Gandhi

Madras THE HINDU in English 6 Mar 84 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] NEW DELHI, March 5. The Soviet Defence Minister, Marshal Dmitri Ustinov, assured the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, at a 100-minute meeting with her this afternoon that the Soviet Union remained fully committed to the consolidation and expansion of Indo-Soviet relations in the political and economic spheres.

The new Soviet leader, Mr. Konstantin Chernenko, whom she met in Moscow only a month ago at the time of Yuri Andropov's funeral, did not send any message as such assuring Mrs. Gandhi of continued Soviet cooperation, but Marshal Ustinov spoke on behalf of the entire Soviet leadership in conveying Mr. Chernenko's keen desire to further deepen and diversify Indo-Soviet relations.

It was one of the longest meetings Mrs. Gandhi ever had with a visiting foreign dignitary. Half the time of their talk was taken by interpreters. The two leaders, nevertheless, covered considerable ground within the available time, discussing both bilateral and international issues.

Basic Policies

As there were no aides on either side, there was no indication of what exactly they discussed other than the few details given out by official spokesmen. The subjects covered, it was stated, included the emphasis the new Soviet leadership placed on continuity and change to cope with problems as they arise, while adhering to basic Soviet policies on issues like the missile crisis, the dangers of the nuclear arms race and the need to restore detente in Europe.

The Soviet Defence Minister and his principal aides had an hour-long meeting thereafter with the Defence Minister, Mr. R. Venkataraman, and other senior officials on defence collaboration and the steps being taken to meet India's requirements. As these talks were of a highly confidential nature, no details were disclosed about the new weapon systems that are being offered or asked



for to step up the mobility and fire power of the Indian armed forces.

As a civilian Marshal sporting a ceremonial uniform decked with service insignia and rows of war decorations, the diminutive Ustinov looked the very image of supreme self-confidence as he briskly stepped down the jet-liner, followed by a whole retinue of Marshals, Generals, Admirals, and others on the 55-member delegation. An advance party of another 30 had arrived to set up the hot line communication channels for a supreme commander in charge of nearly five million Soviet troops and Warsaw Pact forces.

#### Correct Direction

In a brief chat with the press, he said at the airport that Indo-Soviet relations were "very good" and his visit would help to bring about better results. After the signing of the Indo-Soviet treaty, "our relations have really moved in the correct direction."

The Indian Defence Minister who received him said: "The area of cooperation between India and the Soviet Union was very large and we have to update it from time to time." The very fact that Marshal Ustinov has come to India so soon after the recent changes in the Soviet leadership is indicative of the importance that the Soviet Union attaches to its relations and cooperation with India."

After Marshal Ustinov and his colleagues return from their trip to Nasik, Madras, Visakhapatnam and Dehra Dun, there will be a detailed session on Friday to discuss India's precise requirements and finalise the arrangements for both sale and licensed production. The technical aspects will be gone through when the three Service chiefs meet them separately, starting with the Navy chief, Admiral Dawson, who called on Marshal Ustinov and Admiral S. G. Gorshkov, the Head of the Soviet Navy, this afternoon.

At the dinner hosted by Mr. Venkataraman in honour of Marshal Ustinov and his delegation tonight, the two sides voiced serious concern at the worsening international security environment followed by the induction of sophisticated arms into sensitive regions.

The speeches of the two Defence Ministers restated the known Indian and Soviet positions, except that Marshal Ustinov utilised the occasion to publicly pledge continued Soviet support to India in the defence field to help the country face any threat that might arise to its security in the region.

#### Military Help

Marshal Ustinov said: "The Soviet Union with understanding feels the intention of the Indian Government to strengthen its defences and safeguard its freedom and independence." He stressed that "we feel that the Soviet cooperation in the military field will help to improve the defence and sovereignty of India. He added that the Soviet Union wanted to see "friendly India as a strong non-aligned and independent country which can strengthen the cause of peace in Asia and in the whole world."

The Soviet Defence Minister said in conclusion: "Our today's discussions will further strengthen the friendly relations between the Soviet Union and India and cooperation between our armies."

#### Meeting With Venkataraman, Gandhi

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 9 Mar 84 p 1

[Text] NEW DELHI, March 9 (PTI). THE Soviet Union has agreed to supply urgently highly sophisticated equipment for India's defence forces.

The supplies would include equipment with higher strike power for the army, advanced technology aircraft for the air force and latest sensing systems to increase the sight, surveillance and detection capability of naval ships.

Agreements covering the supplies are understood to have concluded at the final round of discussions between the Soviet delegation led by the defence minister, Marshal Dimitri Ustinov, and the Indian delegation led by the defence minister, Mr. R. Venkataraman.

There was a commonality of approach and perception in the security environment--both global and regional--at the discussions between the two sides.

As a result, it was agreed that the equipment plans of the army, not only in terms of higher supplies of equipment but also of more sophisticated ones with higher strike power, would be undertaken by the Soviet Union with a sense of urgency.

During discussions on a suitable air defence system for India in the light of current and future security perceptions, the Soviet side agreed not only to make available advanced technology aircraft but also to consider with due appreciation of the Indian sense of urgency, the requisite electronic counter-measures with offensive and defensive capabilities.

Mr. Venkata raman had recently announced in parliament that India had asked for an improved version of MIGs. These are expected to be made available under the agreement concluded today.

It was decided to fit naval ships under construction not only with the latest sensing systems but also to develop through a process of interaction, electronic capabilities to contain the developing threats in the Indian Ocean area.

UNI adds:

The Soviet pledge to shore up Indian defences and the transfer of very sophisticated military technology came at the end of the wide-ranging talks Marshal Ustinov had with the Prime Minister and the defence minister.

Marshal Ustinov rounded up his talks when Mrs. Gandhi hosted a lunch in his honour at her residence here today.

The Soviet side appreciated the need for indigenising production of all equipments and evaluation systems as early as possible to progressively reduce contingent dependence and offered to help the process of indigenisation to the maximum extent possible.

Marshal Ustinov had an unscheduled luncheon meeting with Mrs. Gandhi at her residence, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, MP, was also present.

It is understood that Marshal Ustinov assured Mrs. Gandhi of all help in the defence field to meet the new emerging threat arising out of the rapid arming of Pakistan.

The two leaders are understood to have had detailed discussions on the security environment of the region.

Due to Marshal Ustinov's meeting with Mrs. Gandhi, the full delegation-level discussions between the defence ministers of the two countries were delayed by 75 minutes.

Marshal Ustinov, who came here on March 5 for a six-day visit, also visited the Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd (HAL) factory at Nasik where the Soviet-designed Mig-27 fighter aircraft will be produced and the Avadi tank factory near Madras where the T-72 tanks would be manufactured.

He also visited the naval dockyard in Visakhapatnam where the Soviet-supplied Foxtrot class submarines are repaired. He visited the Indian Military Academy in Dehra Dun.

Marshal Ustinov's two rounds of discussions were held without aides, He also had two rounds of talks with Mr. Venkataraman. The chiefs of staff of the army, navy and air force separately called on him during his stay here.

Marshal Ustinov today paid a courtesy call on President Zail Singh.

Marshal Ustinov leaves for Moscow tomorrow.

#### G. K. Reddy on Talks

Madras THE HINDU in English 10 Mar 84 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 9.

The Soviet Defence Minister, Marshal Dmitri Ustinov, had a final round of talks today lasting over two hours with his Indian counterpart, Mr. R. Venkataraman. Marshal Ustinov returns to Moscow tomorrow at the end of what was officially described as a highly satisfactory visit.

Earlier, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, hosted a lunch in honour of Marshal Ustinov and his senior colleagues, a courtesy that is not generally extended to visiting Defence Ministers of other countries.

After the two Defence Ministers met privately for a short time, they were joined by senior civil and military officers on either side

for a detailed review of Indo-Soviet cooperation in the defence sphere followed by a fresh assessment of the country's requirements in the prevailing security environment in the region.

The Indian side included, besides Mr. Venkataraman, the Secretaries of Defence and Defence Production, Mr. S. M. Ghosh and Mr. M. C. Sarin, the Scientific Adviser, Dr. V. S. Arunachalam, the Army and Air Chiefs, Gen. A. S. Vaidya and Air Chief Marshal Dilbagh Singh, and the Vice-Chief of the Naval Staff, Vice-Admiral S. Mookerjee, in the absence of Admiral O. S. Dawson. The Soviet Defence Minister was assisted by the Navy Chief, Admiral S. G.

Gorshkov, the Deputy Chief of General Staff, Marshal S. F. Akromeyev and seven other senior members of his delegation.

The details of the discussions that have taken place at different levels with Marshal Ustinov and his advisers, in which the chiefs of staff of the three Indian defence services have taken part, are being kept secret for obvious reasons. But enough is known of the broad pattern of this developing Indo-Soviet defence cooperation to indicate that, in addition to offering the very latest weapon systems, there is an implied promise from the Soviet side of an unrestricted access to India of next generation equipment, as and when it is developed, to meet the country's future requirements.

The current procedures for initial supply of the required weaponry followed by indigenous production under licence is to be supplemented by active assistance in the development of new systems better suited to Indian conditions. The primary purpose of this two-track cooperation is not to increase India's dependence on the Soviet Union, but help India become more and more self-reliant in the defence sphere.

Mr. Venkataraman, who has been taking the Indian public into confidence about the country's defence preparedness, has disclosed from time to time India's plans to acquire and manufacture with Soviet assistance T-72 tanks and BMP armoured personnel carriers, the advanced MIG versions including the latest in this series which is rated more than a match to the F-16 in its offensive and defensive roles, IL-76 transport aircraft and heavy helicopters, different missile systems for surface-to-air, air-to-surface and air-to-air warfare and various categories of artillery and rockets, besides high-speed missile boats and under-water equipment for the Navy, multi-purpose radars for use by the Army and the Air Force and various categories of military communication equipment.

The Soviet side not only agreed to make available new advanced technology as a matter of high priority realising the urgency of India's requirements, but also provide the very latest equipment for electronic counter-measures (ECM) for a fuller air defence system. It agreed further to supply more sophisticated artillery and rocket weaponry to increase the fire power, give sophisticated sensing systems to be fitted on Indian naval vessels to increase their surveillance and sighting capabilities to deal with possible threats in the Indian Ocean. The details worked out by official groups were approved by the two Defence Ministers by initialling the agreed minutes.

It is not customary for a Soviet Defence Minister on a goodwill visit to India to negotiate or sign new military supply agreement, but such trips are used to set the right tone for stepping up the on-going cooperation. The details are left to senior officials to be worked out in due course within the framework of the broad measure of understanding reached at higher political level between the two Governments.

**No new deal:** So no new arms deal as such has been struck during this visit, nor has any new commitments made by either side other than a logical follow-up of what has already been agreed upon. As a leading member of the Politburo, Marshal Ustinov has naturally utilised this visit to assure India of Moscow's continued commitment to maintain its special relationship with this country in mutual interest.

The talks started an hour later than scheduled because of the Prime Minister's luncheon followed by separate calls on Marshal Ustinov by the Chiefs of Staff of the Army and the Air Force. The Soviet Defence Minister had to interrupt these discussions in the middle to meet the External Affairs Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, since this meeting was not included in his original programme. The resumed discussions went on much longer and ended just in time for the dinner hosted by the Soviet Ambassador tonight.

#### STATESMAN Correspondent's Report

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 10 Mar 84 p 1

[Text] NEW DELHI, March 9.--The Soviet Union today signed agreements with India for the supply of futuristic aircraft, missiles, latest electronic counter measure systems, advanced weaponry for the Army and modern warships for the Navy.

The two countries, according to sources, have agreed to widen considerably their cooperation in the defence field and specific areas have been selected for urgent implementation keeping in view the commonality of approach and perception of global and regional security environment.

Sources here said tonight at the end of the last round of talks between the Soviet Defense Minister, Mr Dmitri Ustinov, and his Indian counterpart, Mr. R. Venkataraman, that the Soviets had agreed to give all-out support to the



Indian Navy, Air Force and Army to increase their strike power. The equipment plans of the services, not only in terms of supply of equipment but also in terms of sophistication, would be dealt with with a sense of greater urgency.

This will mean the Soviet Union having agreed to make available a more sophisticated version of MIGs, refitting of the submarine fleet with better propulsion and improved Sonar systems apart from making more subs and cruisers available, an increased number of infantry combat vehicles and T-72 tanks, possibly also 155 mm Howitzers.

India has shown interest in acquiring MIG-298 and T80 tanks, the Soviet side in both cases having taken a sympathetic view of the Indian requirement. Mr Ustinov had in fact told the Indian defence delegation in Moscow last year that his country would be prepared to make available both of these as soon as they had been tried and tested and their capability proven. Regarding MIG-278 the Soviets are inclined to let these be manufactured in a phased manner in this country.

According to the sources, the final round of talks--Mr Ustinov had another session with Prime Minister today at the lunch which Mrs Gandhi hosted in his honour--today yielded satisfactory results from the Indian point of view.

In view of their shared perceptions about the security environment in the region, more particularly the massive rearming of Pakistan by the USA, it was agreed that the re-equipment plan of the Indian Navy would be undertaken urgently.

This would mean that the Soviets had agreed in principle to not only supply ready hardware, but also to enable the country to produce the requirement equipment indigenously. The Soviets are believed to have agreed in the context to make available to this country advanced aircraft technology, including the requisite electronic counter measure systems.

In the case of Navy, it was decided not only to refit the ship under construction with latest Sonar systems to increase their capabilities of surveillance, detection and sight but also to develop through a progress of inter-action electronic capabilities as to contain developing threats in the Indian Ocean area.

The wideranging talks which Mr Ustinov had with Mrs Gandhi, Mr Venkataraman and the External Affairs Minister, Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao (he met Mr Rao before the final round of talks with the Defence Minister) have belied fears expressed by some that the Soviets may not be willing to part with more than what they consider absolutely necessary.

## G. K. Reddy on Results

Madras THE HINDU in English 11 Mar 84 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] NEW DELHI, March 10. The Soviet Defence Minister, Marshal Domitri Ustinov, left today for Moscow "deeply satisfied" with the outcome of his wide-ranging talks in Delhi on increased Indo-Soviet defence collaboration.

Another important feature of his visit has been that perhaps for the first time the Indian and Soviet sides have talked of a "commonality of approach and perception" of the "global and regional" security environment, implying a shared assessment if not a joint approach to problems of peace.

Another significant aspect of Marshal Ustinov's talks in Delhi has been the renewed emphasis he placed on the relevance of the Indo-Soviet treaty in this context, although he did not press for any specific steps to firm up the treaty with a fresh re-affirmation of the abiding adherence of the two countries to it.

The Soviet offer to supply highly sophisticated arms for the Army, Navy and Air Force, along with indigenous production of these weapon systems under licence to the maximum extent possible, as a matter of high priority to reduce what is called contingent dependence, has far exceeded the Indian expectations. The Soviet negotiators did not drag their feet or hold back any vital details of the advanced weaponry sought by India as they used to do in the past, but agreed to meet the country's requirements without any reservation.

**Nocommitment:** The talks that Marshal Ustinov had with the Prime Ministers, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, were generally of a political nature, although they touched upon India's security requirements. But the references to a common security approach and perception did not necessarily imply a commitment on the part of India to support Soviet policies on issues like Afghanistan.

Though India has not gone along with the West in condemning the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, it has been urging the withdrawal of foreign forces without acknowledging that the Soviet troops have a treaty obligation to remain as long as they are required by the local government. But on all major global issues India has been giving Moscow the benefit of doubt even at the risk of being accused of a pro-Soviet tilt. The new defence relationship will certainly come in the way of India criticising Soviet actions, but it has been obliged to increase its dependence on Moscow by the monumental folly of the U.S. starting a new arms race in the region by rearming Pakistan well beyond its legitimate requirements. The talk of a common security approach and perception by India and the Soviet Union is an inevitable consequence of the American action.

The western diplomatic community in Delhi, which has been quite excited over the Ustinov visit, is now waiting to see how this increased defence relationship

with the Soviet Union is going to influence India's foreign policy pursuits in the region. The more experienced and better informed ones are not jumping to the rash conclusion that India is becoming a client State of the Soviet Union, but they are concerned about the leverage that Moscow will acquire.

The Government of India, on the other hand, feels quite confident of adhering to its basic policies, irrespective of the degree of its increased dependence on Moscow for the country's defence.

Back in Moscow

PTI reports from Moscow: The high-power Soviet defence delegation led by Marshal Ustinov returned to Moscow today "quite concerned with the aggravation of tension in the southwest Asian region" but reassured at the same time that India would give "a dignified reply to any aggressor."

CSO: 4600/1659

## DSP LEADER SCORES MOSCOW FOR FOLLOWING GANDHI

Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 11 Mar 84 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 10.—The Democratic Socialist Party president, Mr H. N. Bahuguna, today regretted that the Soviet Union "appears to be blindly following Mrs Gandhi", reports UNI.

Earlier, the people of the Soviet Union considered the people of India close friends and the USSR Government acted as India's staunchest ally. But now, it appeared that the Soviet Union was seeking the friendship of just one family, he said at a Press conference here.

Mr Bahuguna was speaking to reporters after the national council of his party authorized him to work for the formation of a national alternative to the Congress (I) through the merger or unity of like-minded parties.

The council endorsed the resolution on Opposition unity adopted by the party executive on February 21, with the amendment that any such merger should be on the basis of a commonly agreed "time-barred" programme.

Mr Bahuguna said later that the quest for unity could embrace parties like the DSP, Janata, Lok Dal, Congress (S), Congress (J) and Janvadi. He said he had talks with the Lok Dal leader, Mr Charan Singh, and the dialogue was continuing.

Mr Bahuguna said that where the question of unity among like-minded parties was concerned, he was an "incorrigible optimist". He had an encouraging response till now, he added.

He and his party would raise no problems concerning positions in the new party sought to be formed. However, he said no compromises would be possible on major policy issue. The new party would be democratic, secular and left of the centre, he said.

Asked about the position of the BJP in his scheme of things, Mr Bahuguna said that the party had decided to keep off from the merger talks, and it still had the "RSS connexion".

CSO: 4600/1659

INDIA, BURMA SIGN MARITIME BORDER ACCORD

Madras THE HINDU in English 14 Mar 84 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] NEW DELHI, March 13. An agreement has been reached between India and Burma after protracted negotiations spread over several years for delimiting the maritime boundary between the two countries in the Bay of Bengal and the Andaman Sea to determine their respective economic zones.

The Foreign Secretary, Mr. M. K. Rasgotra, and the Burmese Ambassador, Mr. Ko Ko Lay, initiated the draft agreement today along with supporting charts demarcating the dividing line.

With this issue settled, there is no dispute of any kind between India and Burma over the demarcation of the land or maritime boundary lines. The land boundary was demarcated to mutual satisfaction as far back as 1967 in the wake of the Sino-Indian border dispute, except that the delimitation of the tri-junction between the three countries at Diphu near Rima at the eastern tip of the McMahon line was left open until India and China had arrived at a settlement.

Maritime boundary agreements have been reached by India with Burma, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Maldives demarcating its economic zones in the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea in and around the Andamans and the Lakshdweep islands on either side of the sub-continent. The two countries with which agreements have to be concluded are Bangladesh and Pakistan, political reasons holding them back.

The delay in the case of Burma occurred because it had to be determined in terms of international law whether an uninhabited island, like the little Coco to the far south in the Preparis channel, could be deemed to be the determining factor in drawing the median line, while in India's view, it had to be an inhabited island which in this case was far to the north in this region.

The legal experts of the External Affairs Ministry who have negotiated all these maritime boundary agreements starting with the Kachathivu dispute have acquired considerable expertise. This experience has helped them in playing an important role at the Law of the Sea conferences.



## GANDHI OPENS CONGRESS-I MEETING IN DELHI

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 10 Mar 84 p 1

[Text] NEW DELHI, March 9 (PTI). THE Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, today cautioned the people of Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir that being border states they were more prone to danger.

If the two states were weakened internally, she warned, external forces would get an opportunity to exploit the situation and create more problems.

Inaugurating the two-day meeting of the Congress MPs and MLAs here, she said, in Punjab a political party had launched an agitation, but the situation had gone out of control of the Akali Dal. The situation was being exploited by extremists and interested forces.

The Prime Minister spoke at length about the situation in Jammu and Kashmir. While pro-India forces were suppressed in the state, anti-India elements were encouraged, she said.

"We are arresting those who are burning the constitution. Was not burning of the national flag far bigger treason than burning the constitution", she asked.

Without naming the chief minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, the Prime Minister said the question was not of anybody's loyalty. The question was of encouraging those who were anti-India.

## Opposition Desperate

Mrs. Gandhi said the attempt of the opposition parties to unite against the Congress manifested a sign of their desperation.

She said different parties, ranging from extreme right to extreme left, were getting together in a desperate manner against her party.

This was evidently not a sign of their strength but of their weakness. None of them, Mrs. Gandhi added, could stand on their feet. They have neither any positive programme nor any positive ideas.

She also accused the opposition parties of seeking to use every agitation, every issue, for their political ends without consideration of the national perspective.

In an indirect reference to the Lok Dal-BJP alliance, Mrs. Gandhi said, a certain party, which disliked being called communal, was having a truck with the BJP.

Though the leader of that party was a champion of small and cottage industry, he would not mind toeing the line of the advocates of heavy industry, she added.

Mrs. Gandhi noted that the "big leaders and the big parties" whose entire effort consisted in coming together against the Congress were getting so much publicity in the Indian press and the press abroad.

#### No Toppling Bid

She asserted that her party never tried to topple any opposition-ruled state government, least of all, Dr. Abdullah's government. She said the Centre had always helped the opposition-ruled state governments.

The charge of toppling the opposition-ruled state governments was made to cover up the misdeeds and wrong being done (in the states) and to misled the people, she said.

Talking about the economic situation, Mrs. Gandhi said: "We have been steering the economy through a tempest". Opposition to India was voiced outside the country because "we are able to tide over our economic problems."

But the economy was not as good as she wanted it to be. There were many difficulties.

India, she reiterated, wanted to have friendship with all countries. A country, she said, could become strong on its own strength and not on borrowed strength.

The Congress general secretary, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, who made a brief speech earlier, asked party MPs and MLAs to air their views openly at the convention and to approach all problems with an open mind. He hoped that concrete and constructive proposals would come out of the convention which was being held for the first time.

CSO: 4600/1659

PAPERS REPORT PROCEEDINGS OF JANATA PLENUM

Economic Resolution, Shekhar Remarks

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 10 Mar 84 pp 1, 9

[Article by Jayaprakash Nagar]

[Text] (Patna), March 9 (PTI). THE draft economic resolution of the Janata Party seeks to pledge the party in organising dispossessed and exploited sections and low-income groups in villages and towns to reverse the priorities and policies of the government.

"Daridra Narain" (poor) "have to be awakened and mobilised and a relentless fight against the politico-economic 'depotism' of the rulers has to be launched if the aspirations of the independence struggle for economic equality and social justice are to be realised, the draft, which was discussed by the national executive today, said.

Terming the imbalance between the prices of manufactured goods and agricultural produce as 'price loot against the agricultural sector', the draft said this phenomenon confirmed that the government was firmly committed to large-scale industrialisation, private corporate sector, rich farmers, big contractors, wholesalers and the massive creation of black-market and black money.

Budget Criticised

The draft said it was this alliance between the ruling party and the exploiting system 'lubricated by unheard of graft, cut-backs and tax evasion' which would have to be fought against if the teeming millions of the country had to be redeemed.

It called upon the people to reject this 'twisted path of planned economic development and the exploiting system' which had been built in the name of modernisation, industrialisation and growth.

Reviewing the economic scene, it said the policy to bolster up large corporate private sector to the detriment of employment generation was continuing. Over 12 million people had gone below the poverty line during the last two years.

The draft economic resolution said a critical failure on the agricultural front was the 'incapacity' of the government to evolve a meaningful strategy for rice cultivating areas.

On the budget, it said the policy of lowering direct and indirect taxes and wealth tax in respect of corporate private sector, affluent sections and the upper-middle classes was continuing.

Referring to concessions to industries, the draft said the 'trick' appeared to garner concessions in the name of recession or sickness but misuse them in 'collusion with the government'. It also accused the government of wasteful expenditure on construction of hotels, sadia and swimming pools.

The resolution said that total reliance on 'elitist models' of production, consumption and distribution continued to shackle economic growth and erode human and physical resources.

Concentration of capital and control of market by a few firms had circumscribed the country's growth, it added.

A fervent call for "immediate unification" of all like-minded opposition parties committed to democratic and socialist ideals to usher in "an instrument of national unity and radical change" is likely to be given by the national executive of the Janata Party.

The call is understood to be part of the operative paragraph of the longish draft political resolution debated for 12-hours spread over two days.

In his opening remarks to the national council, the party president, Mr. Chandra Shekhar said the party did not represent any extraordinarily great force, but it would continue to raise its voice as long as the voice of the people was sought to be stifled.

The national council of the party authorised its president to nominate members of this new national executive.

A motion to this effect, moved by the Karnataka chief minister, Mr. Ramakrishna Hegde, was declared carried by an overwhelming majority with only three voting against.

Critics of Mr. Chandra Shekhar actively canvassed their point of view, accusing him of stifling dissent and encouraging questionable elements in the party and outside.

Mr. Sonusinh Patil, a member of the national council, said the party was not being run democratically and important leaders were being ignored. On the other hand, certain others, specially former socialists, were getting encouragement.

While agreeing with some allegations made by Dr. Subramaniam Swamy in regard to conduct of the organisational election, Mr. Patil said he had a meeting

with Mr. Morarji Desai before coming here. He would try to place his point of view before the council.

The party constitution, he said, required to be amended to ensure better internal democracy in its working.

Mr. Morarji Desai, meanwhile, has wished in a telegram success to the party's second plenary session here and congratulated Mr. Chandra Shekhar on his reelection as the party president.

#### Political Resolution, Other Matters

Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 11 Mar 84 pp 1, 7

[Article by M. H. Jadhav]

[Text] PATNA, March 10.--The central leadership of the Janata Party made it clear in the political resolution adopted by the second plenary session here today that the party would be the "focal point" of a united Opposition and those desirous of fighting Mrs Gandhi and the Congress (I) were welcome to the Janata fold.

In other words, the Janata leadership ruled out the possibility of the party accepting a second position in future alliances or merger with other non-Communist Opposition parties.

The political resolution hoped that the BJP and the Lok Dal and others who were in the original Janata Party of the 1977 would respond favourably to the Janata's call for unity for non-Communist Opposition parties to revive what was called "the spirit of 1977".

This was further evident from a crucial sentence in the political resolution which said: "It is important that all those committed to the social and economic amelioration of the people and to the democratic and socialist ideal should unite under one banner".

This meant that Mr Chandra Shekhar fondly believed that the non-Communist Opposition parties should become the part of the Janata Party and consequently accept his leadership of united Opposition.

The political resolution made much of the low votes polled by the Congress (I) in the December by-election to the Lok Sabha and the Assemblies and even suggested that the defeat of the Congress (I) be read as the message of the people to remove the Opposition parties at the Centre and in States from power.

According to the resolution, the defeat of the Congress (I) in the recent by-elections reflected the urge of the people to see once again the emergence of the united Opposition providing an alternative to the Congress (I). At the plenary session there was only one sentence in the 11-page speech of the



Janata President which betrayed his approach to the other Opposition parties. It paraphrased, he said that the Janata Party catalysed the formation of the United Front with the parties sharing ideological perception and policy frame. Secondly, the 18 political parties had met four times in one year in conclaves to discuss the Centre-State relations. This should lead the Janata and other political parties to evolve a broad policy approach that would help assimilate the like-minded parties, people and groups within the Janata fold. This would also help evolve a pragmatic understanding with parties willing to respond and make electoral adjustments in order to avoid splitting of the Opposition votes in the next Lok Sabha elections.

PTI and UNI add: The conference today gave the go-ahead to Mr Chandra Shekhar to take all necessary steps to unity under one banner "all democratic and socialist forces to provide an alternative to the ruling Congress".

In a forceful extempore address in Hindi, Mr Chandra Shekhar, who begins his third term as president, charged the Centre with making desperate efforts to dislodge the non-Congress (I) Governments and delaying solution of important problems, like those of Assam and Punjab only to achieve its electoral ends.

Mr Subramanian Swamy, who lost to Mr Chandra Shekhar in the presidential poll, opposed unity with the Communists but even he would not mind seat adjustments with them.

All other senior leaders, including Mr Raj Narain, Mr George Fernandes, Mr Ravindra Varma and Mr Sharad Yadav pleaded for unity downplaying the ideological differences.

The national council of the party today adopted an international resolution accusing the Government of having reduced foreign relations to a "series of extravaganzas, to conferences without results, to visits without objectives and to speeches without meaning". The resolution was moved by Syed Shahabuddin, party general secretary.

While maintaining defence preparedness, the Government should engage in a treaty for non-aggression and cooperation with Pakistan, it said.

Expressing concern over the ethnic violence in Sri Lanka, the resolution appealed to the Government of that country to ensure security of life, property and honour of the Tamil-speaking minority.

Mr Chandra Shekhar today deputed Mr George Fernandes and Mr Biju Patnaik to visit Pakistan to convey its people the Janata Party's concern at the build-up of sophisticated weapons by Pakistan.

The national executive of the party today approved an economic resolution calling for mobilizing masses to bring about radical reversal in wrong economic priorities and policies of the Government.

## Session Ends, Rally Held

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 12 Mar 84 pp 1, 9

[Text] (Patna), March 11.--The two-day plenary session of the Janata Party ended here tonight with a resolve to launch a popular movement in the country in defence of democracy and to ensure justice to harassed sections of society, report PTI and UNI. The call for the movement was given by the party chief, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, at a mass rally which marked the end of the session.

Mr. Chandra Shekhar expressed concern at what he called, Mrs Gandhi's designs to foist dynastic rule on India and her lack of tolerance towards the Opposition-led Ministries in Karnataka, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir.

The party president was brought in a colourful "shobha yatra" to the Gandhi Maidan in the heart of the city from the venue of the session--Jayaprakash Negar.

Earlier, talking to reporters, Mr Chandra Shekhar contested the argument that the decisions of the Patna plenary would give a boost to the undesirable trend currently in vogue, of non-ideological politics in the country, thus breeding disillusionment and cynicism in public life.

What was foremost on the Janata Party's agenda, he said, was the consolidation of "socialist and democratic forces," the process set in motion in September last year with the formation of the "United Front comprising the Janata Party, the DSP, the Janawadi Party and the Rashtriya Congress".

The party would look for allies with whom it shared common ideological perspective, the party chief said, adding it would go for poll adjustments in areas only if strongly desired by the general masses as was evidenced in Karnataka where the Hegde Ministry had the backing of both Right and Left groups.

Earlier the national conference the highest party forum which met after three years since Sarnath in 1981, endorsed the three main resolutions on the political, economic and international situations, delineating the party's line till the next plenary.

The session's highlight was the lively debate on the political resolution which authorized the president to take all necessary steps to "unite under one banner" all parties believing in democracy and socialism to forge a credible alternative to the Congress (I). but is yearning for a unity on the model of 1977," he said.

Before the end of the plenary session--the party unanimously adopted a resolution putting on record its appreciation of the creditable performance of the Government in Karnataka.

The former Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr Samarendra Kundu, moved the resolution on the foreign policy which was adopted without discussion. Mr Mohammad Ismail from Tamil Nadu seconded it.

The party general secretary, Mr. Ram Bilas Paswan, M.P. moved the economic resolution which called for launching a popular struggle in support of the party's 15-point charter of demands including abolition of an "elitist pattern" of economic growth.

The notable intervention in the concluding session was that of the Tamil journalist. Mr Cho Rama-swamy.

He pleaded for building up a personality cult of Mr Chandra Shekhar on the pattern of that of the Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi. Policies and programmes would not cut ice with "illiterate masses", he said.

The newly-constituted national executive of the Janata Party will meet in Delhi this month-end to explore possibilities of the party's unity with "socialist and democratic forces" and electoral adjustments with other parties. This was disclosed by Mr Chandra Shekhar.

The national executive of the party will set up a panel to go into complaints of irregularities in the recently-held organizational elections.

Dr Bapu Kaldate, party general secretary said this was a constitutional obligation which could be fulfilled only by the new executive. It was wrong for anyone to say that the panel would be set up at the insistence of Mr Subramaniam Swamy, who was defeated in the presidential election.

CSO: 4600/1659

## NATIONAL STRATEGY FOR PUNJAB ADVOCATED

Madras THE HINDU in English 11 Mar 84 p 2

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] THERE has mercifully been a slight abatement of the senseless communal violence in Punjab, but this does not amount to a marked improvement of the sad situation. The relative lull, if indeed it can be described as such, is deceptive since the terrorists are still on the rampage. The increasing police pressure evidently has put them on the defensive, but they are capable of striking again.

The extremists in Punjab are not insurgents, like the hard core rebels in Nagaland or Mizoram, who can carry on a guerilla campaign against the security forces. They are only fanatics who indulge in isolated acts of hit-and-run terrorism simply to create panic among the people in the hope of compelling the Government to submit to their dictates to save innocent lives.

So the Punjab crisis persists in a different form with nobody in authority knowing what to do to resolve it. The absence of a clear perspective or coherent policy contributes to the painful suspense, creating an atmosphere of drift and indecision. A communal challenge of this kind cannot be dealt with only by the party in power, since the Opposition too has a responsibility to extend a helping hand in finding a lasting solution.

The Government has to make the right moves to impel the Opposition to fall in line under pressure of public opinion. It calls for political imagination and personal aptitude on the part of those in power to give the Opposition a sense of involvement and even a feeling of active identification with the Governmental efforts to settle issues of this kind that have inflamed emotions.

#### Avoidable Confusion

The Prime Minister has been complaining that instead of helping her in evolving a reasonable solution to the Punjab problem, the Opposition leaders have been trying to exploit the situation for narrow political purposes. Though she has been going through the motions of seeking their support, Mrs Gandhi apparently does not believe that a bipartisan approach is possible in these circumstances. But since she has equally little faith in the capacity of her own senior party colleagues to assist her with sound advice in tackling such

problems, she has become increasingly dependent on officials and even outsiders at times.

The result is that a lot of avoidable confusion has crept into the day-to-day functioning of the Government. It has led to a down-grading of the Cabinet system, the emergence of confidants exercising extra-constitutional authority without accountability and the ascendancy of officials in her hierarchy much to the discomfiture and even resentment of her ministerial colleagues. The repeated attempts to build up a brains trust, consisting of the best available official and non-official talent at the disposal of the Government, has invariably ended up with the emergence of kitchen cabinets or pressure groups bent on enhancing personal power or peddling influence.

#### Ad Hocism

The all-purpose and omnibus Political Affairs Committee of the Cabinet, which is supposed to function as an inner Cabinet, has no time to devote its undivided attention even to issues of national importance, since it is burdened with too much routine work ranging from approval of defence contracts to determination of Central Attitudes towards non-Congress (I) State Governments.

The concept of collective responsibility has been diluted progressively to such an extent that everything is done in the name of the Prime Minister and in the process she gets blamed for the many lapses of her colleagues. Consequently, a high degree of ad hocism has become a special characteristic and an integral feature of the style of the present Government at the Centre.

It is extraordinary that Ministers often are allowed and even encouraged to interfere in the work of other Ministries or dabble in the politics of States that are of no direct concern to them. If a particular Cabinet Minister in charge of an important Ministry is not capable of handling it, the best course would be to entrust him with a less demanding portfolio or even drop him from the Cabinet in the larger interests of efficiency and cohesion. But in allowing him to continue in that very Ministry and asking another Minister to interfere in its functioning, whatever the compelling reasons for it, the decision-making processes get disrupted through duplication of authority and dilution of established procedures.

A Cabinet Minister does not generally mind being over-ruled by the Prime Minister in policy matters, but he strongly resents when another Minister interferes in the functioning of his Ministry even with the Prime Minister's permission. It also places the officials in an embarrassing position, since it is difficult for them to make out whether their own Minister was privy to the decisions taken on the advice of his other colleagues.

#### Motivated Advice

Apart from the many special emissaries who have been running errands between Delhi and Amritsar, there are at least half a dozen Ministers who have been dabbling in Punjab affairs, with or without the knowledge of the Prime Minister,



adding to the confusion. But this kind of duplication or diffusion of authority or responsibility has not occurred only in the handling of the Akali problem, since the same thing happens each time the Centre is required to deal with some awkward developments in the States. The advice the Prime Minister receives in such situations often is motivated and subjective depending on the political proclivities of her colleagues.

If there is no coherence in the functioning of the Government, the Opposition cannot be expected to fill the gap by offering its unstinted cooperation in resolving issues of national importance. It is not possible to evolve a broadly acceptable national strategy and encourage the Opposition to rise above the rut of party interests in dealing with problems like communal tensions, if the ruling party itself is unable to display the requisite sense of shared purpose and common dedication in facing resolutely such threats to the unity of the people.

#### Empty Sob Stuff

In the absence of a proper bipartisan political tradition, the exhortations for amity and tolerance sound like empty sob stuff that is no substitute for a sensible policy or strong action. The psychology of escapism created by the reluctance to come to grips with the realities of a problem tends to generate in turn an atmosphere of cross-purpose with different parties and persons pulling in different directions in pursuit of the same objective as they see it.

If the intention is not to get bogged down unwittingly at the crossroads of history by revelling in this cross-purpose, the Government and the Opposition have to engage in a serious dialogue to work out an agreed strategy before resuming talks with the Akali leaders and regaining the lost initiatives to resolve the tangle.

The Government would be making a grave mistake if it proceeded on the assumption that the Congress (I) and its close associates were paragons of virtue and repositories of patriotism and all others were either cynical prophets of doom or insidious propagators of national disintegration.

The lunatic fringe on either side of the dividing line cannot overshadow the reassuring reality that there are enough men and women of goodwill in both the camps to serve as a solid base for developing a national strategy to fight the evils of communalism, casteism and regionalism that are the bane of Indian democracy and its cherished values.

A determined effort has to be made to revive the old crusading spirit of Indian nationalism, before the political parties get embroiled in another election campaign. The experience of India has been that a big legislative majority by itself does not provide for an assured stability of a government or promise of good administration.

It is the readiness of a leader to uphold a principle and resign, if necessary, to vindicate one's own stand that can make a government strong and stable, not

just a docile majority in the legislature. It is necessary to command the respect of not only one's own party but also the Opposition to be able to carry the whole country with oneself over any issue of national importance.

There are many distinguished men and women of goodwill outside the general run of party politics who could be utilised to create a climate of conciliation, without letting them transform themselves into pressure groups or self-promoting busybodies bent on interfering with the functioning of the Government. The art of utilisation of their services calls for an uncanny capacity to benefit from their advice and experience, without being taken for a ride by creating new lobbies of influence.

The peace marches in Punjab and Haryana should have been supplemented by non-party, if not all-party, deputations to talk things over with the Akali leaders in the privacy of the Golden Temple to make them realise the terrible consequences of a communal feud in this border State.

The Punjab crisis cannot be resolved by relying primarily on the good offices of interested middle men, ill-informed ministerial busybodies or bureaucrats who are not used to taking any calculated risks without proper political direction. It cannot be tackled even by the Prime Minister with all her power and prestige in a compartmental manner without the involvement of both the Government and the Opposition in the efforts to resolve the Akali problem. The real need of the hour is for a truly national approach to give the Sikh community a feeling of reassurance that their legitimate demands would be met by the Government with the full backing of the Opposition.

The perils of drift and vacillation are so great that any further delay in settling this problem would only mean that the evil winds of the bitterness and hatred now sweeping Punjab and Haryana would start spreading to other regions soon. The sub-nationalism bred by regionalism has already assumed in many parts of the country the ugly dimensions of sectarian tensions. And the failure of the political parties to sustain the country's basic unity might encourage the parochial elements to pander even more to the whims and fancies of regional chauvinism which is worse than communalism.

CSO: 4600/1659

## GANDHI SPEECH CLOSES DELHI CONGRESS-I MEETING

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 12 Mar 84 pp 1, 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, March 11.—Mrs Gandhi today warned her party men not to depend on her to do all the campaigning for them in the next election. "It is for you to carry our burden and you will have to bear it fairly and squarely on your shoulders."

Mrs. Gandhi made the exhortation with apparent seriousness in the course of her concluding speech to the three-day convention of Congress (I) M.P.s and MLAs from all over the country, though it was evident that her main purpose was to urge them on to greater activity in their respective constituencies and mobilize popular support for the party.

The Congress (I) president said that in the 1980 poll, too, she had told her partymen to bear the responsibility for their own electioneering, but this time they had to stand on their own feet.

She said they would have to effectively counter the Opposition parties, which was not difficult to do, because "what have they to show for their achievement, after all?" The real test of political parties in the democracy was their attitude to national problems, the work they did for the people and their achievements, she said.

If one drew a graph of what the Opposition parties had done in the years they ruled, one could easily see what they had achieved in comparison to what her own party had done. "One does not have to be an archaeologist to dig it out".

Mrs Gandhi held that the Opposition parties and their newspapers were carrying on ceaseless and baseless propaganda against the Congress (I). They went on calling the Congress (I) "a one-leader party". This was not so, as was evident from the "thousands of leaders like you who have come to attend this convention".

She called on partymen to become "leaders", and provide "political and developmental leadership at every level" in their own areas, in the villages, towns or districts from where they came "by standing on your own feet".

Moreover she said the Opposition had always a way of making every issue personal. In the three years she was not Prime Minister and the parties now in the Opposition were in power, their only job had been "to discuss me it is they who made all issues personal, unmindful of the main problems of the nation. Even now they are oblivious of the dangers internal and external, that face the country, and are looking at things on a personal plane. In no other country where democracy functions, the Opposition would take to this level", she said.

Mrs Gandhi also denied the charge that her Government had allowed multinationals to enter into the rural or cottage industry sector. They had been allowed to enter certain areas where they could contribute to superior technology, but not in those sectors from where "they could destroy our independence and weaken the supremacy of the basic industry that occupies the commanding heights of the economy".

Another wrong propaganda was that "I have gone against the Harijans or minorities, but this is simply not true". The Congress (I) had always given priority to improving the conditions of the Scheduled Castes, tribes and the under-privileged. There would be reservations for them in jobs or admissions and in all other spheres as long as it was necessary, though she had pointed out before that it was like a "crutch".

But the weaker sections would have stand on their own feet and be in a position where they no longer needed the crutch. The majority community had to realize that society could not move forward if there were pockets of under-privileged amid them. The atrocities on Harijans or "some minority groups" had to stop and the Congress (I) had to be vigilant to ensure this, she said.

Mrs Gandhi said that it was in May last year that she had issued instructions to the State Governments for the implementation of the 20-point programme, for an assessment and stock-taking, for which the convention had been primarily called. The instructions related to land reform, employment, agriculture and irrigation. In the course of the analysis and monitoring of the implementation carried out at the convention, it had been seen that there were certain lacunae "in some places", but these shortcomings had to be removed.

The M.P.s and MLAs would however have to draw a line between party work and the executive. The executive had to be utilized for effective implementation. The M.P.s and MLAs were also accountable to the people for the implementation of developmental programmes. As far as the Ministers were concerned, it had to be remembered that it was they who had to make decisions. The ultimate decision was not of the bureaucrat, but of the Minister, who of course had to be assisted by the bureaucrat to view a situation from all angles.

Mrs Gandhi said that if some people who were formerly in the Congress, but were now in other parties, decided to boycott the party's centenary celebrations in 1985, India "will be the only country where the freedom struggle is not given the honour that is due to it by these people".

Mrs Gandhi said the centenary celebrations were not for one group, but for entire country, because in the freedom movement, it was the whole country that had participated.

In the committee that had been set up to organize the centenary year, the names of those now in other parties had been included to make it an occasion for the whole country to celebrate. But some of them are said to have decided to boycott the celebrations. "It is not we who have kept them out, but it is they who want to boycott the functions so, if the Opposition does not want to associate with the celebrations, it will be the only country where the freedom struggle is not given the honour that is due to it"

Earlier winding up the deliberations of the convention, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, AICC (I) general secretary, said that the zonal committees that had been set up had had a first look into the two main aspects of party work political and developmental. The committees would carry on their work and evaluate the political work of party members as also the progress made in the implementation of the 20 point programme in each constituency, up to the time of the elections.

The convention had provided a forum and the M.P.s and MLAs had provided the information needed on party work and implementation of development work. The information would be evaluated and then the zonal committees would, from April onwards, visit the States and the constituencies and evaluate "In very hard terms the party work" done there. Similar conventions would be held in each State from July. An all-India convention would be held in September or October. "It means all of you will have to work in your constituencies all through this period", he said.

The objective of the method adopted, he pointed out was to ensure that party M.P.s and MLAs visited their constituencies and worked among the people. "Some have told us that when they went to their constituencies, after they were asked to do so in the plenary session in Calcutta, they were confronted with the remark from their constituents: 'Why have you come to us after four years' It was a fair question. But it was better than the constituents asking the M.P.s or MLAs: 'Why have you come after five years, at the time of elections?'"

Mr Rajiv Gandhi put two embargoes on the legislators: They should not in future "lobby for your groups or for yourself" at these conventions; and to keep their dissidence and grievances to themselves, "and not run to the Press", for these gatherings gave them enough opportunity to ventilate their grievances "and let off steam".

Mr Buta Singh Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, who is in charge of the zonal committee for the eastern zone, condemned the incidents in the West Bengal Assembly in which Congress (I) members had been physically assaulted. Many party members had also been killed in West Bengal, and it was regrettable that the newspapers were either not reporting about them or giving such issues scant attention.



But, he said, the politics of murder and assault had now reached a state in which the people of West Bengal had begun speaking out. The people and the Congress (I) workers in the State were unifying to stand up against the challenge put up by the ruling front, and it was clear that in the next elections the Congress (I) would gain the confidence of the people

He held that the ruling party in West Bengal was carrying on administration in a partisan manner by interfering with the bureaucracy. Only those members of the bureaucracy were given key positions who did things from the "party angles". For example, if a "havaladar" was a sympathizer of the party, he had the upperhand over the house officer of a police station, and it was he who decided things. The Congress (I) men were struggling hard to cope with the situation in the State, he said.

CSO: 4600/1659

## PAPERS REPORT, COMMENT ON PAKISTAN MILITARY ACTIVITY

## Exercises Near Border

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 12 Mar 84 p 9

[Text] SRINAGAR, March 11 (PTI): Security forces guarding the line of actual control in Jammu and Kashmir, have been directed to be "alert and more vigilant", following "unusual and extraordinary" military activities by the Pakistani troops, across the border.

Stating this to newsmen here, the Corps Commander, Lt. Gen. P. N. Hoon, said that "our jawans are fully prepared to meet any threat from across the border".

"We will not allow one inch of our land to be occupied by the aggressor" General Hoon said reiterating that India firmly believed in peace and had no designs to wage war against its neighbours.

## Forces on Alert

He said that reports received from across the border indicated that Pakistani troops were engaged in extraordinary military activities on the borders adjoining Jammu and Kashmir and had started building up cantonments very close to the border.

This, General Hoon said, had created a situation which called for "extraordinary vigilance on our part". However, he made it clear that Indian security forces were well prepared to foil any mischief and teach the aggressor a lesson.

Referring to intermittent border skirmishes, General Hoon said that only last week Pakistani troops had opened fire in Uri sector in north Kashmir without any provocation. He said Indian troops had objected to the way the otherside had started digging pits close to the line of actual control. "Instead of listening to our point, the Pakistani troops opened fire and in self-defence we also had to retaliate", he added.

G. K. Reddy Report

Madras THE HINDU in English 12 Mar 84 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] NEW DELHI, March 11. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, today accused the opposition parties of indifference to the mounting threat from Pakistan because of their personal animosity towards her, despite her repeated warnings of this danger on the western front.

She also criticised the press for not displaying enough awareness of this danger, ignoring the fact that almost all the major daily newspapers in the country have been giving front-page publicity to what the Prime Minister, Defence Minister and others have been saying on the subject.

The Congress (I) General Secretary, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, said the other day that Pakistani troops across the line of actual control in Jammu and Kashmir have been holding regular exercises to step up their capability to launch a full-scale attack at four days' notice. According to other sources, similar exercises have been held in other sectors along the international border in recent weeks, compelling India to take suitable steps to deal with any surprise attack on Kashmir or elsewhere on the western front.

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had said earlier that there was a danger of a Pakistani attack on Kashmir this year, presumably because the recent exercises across the line of actual control held after several years were on a considerably larger scale. Though the Prime Minister herself has not spoken in such precise terms, she has also been warning the country of a possible threat from Pakistan.

The Defence Minister, on the other hand, has not gone into such details, but in publicising the arms purchases from the Soviet Union, he has been assuring the country that India was well prepared to meet any such threat from Pakistan.

One of the big advantages of Pakistan is that its cantonments are close to the border and some new ones have been built to give its armour and infantry the capability to launch a full-scale attack on four day's notice at some strategic points. The Indian deployments are made in such a way that the Army can not only contain such surprise thrusts but also counter-attack immediately at places of its choice to outmanoeuvre and even surround the attacking enemy forces.

Excessive Secrecy

But in its excessive secrecy the Defence Ministry has not bothered to take the Indian public into confidence about the broad strategic picture without disclosing its operational plans. It is because of this basic ignorance of the nature or extent of the Pakistani threat, that the Indian public tend to react

with disbelief to the Prime Minister's warnings of the danger in her speeches at some odd places during her tours of the States, with no reliable accounts available of what exactly she has said on the subject. Otherwise there has so far been no authoritative statement either by Mrs. Gandhi herself or Mr. R. Venkataraman in Parliament about the seriousness of the Pakistani threat other than the repeated references to its acquisition of highly sophisticated U.S. arms well beyond its legitimate defence requirements.

#### Briefing Discontinued

The Government does not generally encourage an informed discussion in the press on the nature of the Pakistani threat or the Indian ability to cope with it, because of bureaucratic apprehensions that influence ministerial attitudes. The policy initiated a few years ago of providing a detailed briefing by top Army, Navy and Air Force officers of the rank of the vice chiefs or deputy chiefs of staff to select political leaders, visiting U.S. congressmen and senior journalists was abruptly discontinued in 1982 for no particular reason.

These briefings were intended to present India's defence problems in their proper perspective, in terms of the Pakistani build-up without disclosing in any way the operational plans or even actual troop dispositions. The practice was initiated significantly enough when Mrs. Gandhi was in charge of Defence and she is apparently unaware that it has since been discontinued for no valid reason.

It is time that she is told that the obsessive, almost paranoid, secrecy surrounding even elementary defence matters makes an informed debate in the press almost impossible. It is only the reports of new arms purchases by Pakistan, often exaggerated and wide of the mark, that are publicised by interested lobbies within the three Services to exert pressure on the Government for getting comparable equipment.

#### Disquieting Feature

A disquieting feature of the Pakistani military capability which the Indian public should know is that the Pakistan Army which consisted only of 10 divisions after the Bangladesh conflict has now been doubled to 20 divisions, including two armoured divisions and several independent brigades. What is more serious is that out of these hardly two divisions are deployed on the Afghan border, another two are located in Sind and Baluchistan and perhaps one held as a reserve division.

The remaining 15 divisions, along with nearly 200,000 paramilitary forces, are more or less permanently stationed close to the Indian borders from Kashmir to Rajasthan. This gives Pakistan the capability to strike in corps strength--a corps consists of three divisions--at least at two points in the event of an all-out conflict.

The Indian Army has 31 divisions, including two armoured divisions and a much larger number of independent armoured, infantry and para brigades. But about 12 of them are permanently stationed on the northern borders facing the Chinese forces and another three are on the north-eastern region, leaving roughly the same number of 15 divisions as Pakistan on the western front.

#### No Adequate Publicity

Though India has a two-to-one air and naval superiority, the ground forces are more or less evenly matched on the western front. Unfortunately, this crucial fact is not adequately publicised abroad to convince the critics that, despite India's big size and population, there is virtual military parity on the western front. The crucial point is that any unmatched acquisition of new weapon systems by Pakistan can adversely affect this delicate balance.

And it is high time the Prime Minister was told about this deplorable lapse in the presentation of the Indian case both at home and abroad.

CSO: 4600/1661



## KASHMIR LEADER DENIES LINKS WITH LIBERATION FRONT

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 15 Mar 84 p 13

[Text]

JAMMU, March 14.—The Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister, Dr Farooq Abdullah, today refuted the allegation that he had any links with the Kashmir Liberation Front, reports PTI.

He denied that he had ever been a member of the disbanded Plebiscite Front. He said that he was neither a "separatist nor a Pakistani in the past, nor today".

In the course of his reply to a two-day debate on the Budget grants, Dr Abdullah told the State Assembly that he had never been with the Akali Dal.

All that he was interested in was a solution of the Punjab tangle so that Jammu and Kashmir was saved from its impact, he said.

Our Correspondent adds: Dr Abdullah sounded a note of warning to the members of the State Assembly, particularly those who had recently raised the issue of the hanging of Maqbool Butt in the House to restrain and refrain themselves raising such issues which caused a direct or indirect threat to the integrity, solidarity and unity of the country.

Dr Abdullah made it clear that

Maqbool Butt was executed because he had killed two innocent people in the State. He said, therefore, whosoever referred to the execution in the State Assembly had to keep the murder of innocent people in mind.

Dr Abdullah made it absolutely clear that all within and outside the House should keep the interest of the country uppermost in their minds while expressing viewpoints on any subject. He said Kashmir was an integral part of India and, therefore, one should desist from making utterances which could harm the larger interests of the country.

Referring to the Congress(I)'s accusations against him, Dr Abdullah said he did not hold the Chief Ministership at the pleasure of the Congress(I) nor would he ever submit to their dictates.

CSO: 4600/1664

## BRIEFS

**TRIPARTITE TRADE PACT--NEW DELHI, March 13.** A new protocol to the tripartite trade expansion and economic cooperation agreement between India, Egypt and Yugoslavia was signed at the ministerial level meeting of the three countries held recently in Cairo. The trade agreement was signed in Belgrade in June 1983. The Indian delegation to the meeting was led by Mr. P. A. Sangma, Deputy Minister of Commerce and included Mr. K. S. Bains, Joint Secretary, Department of Heavy Industry and Mr. K. A. Sivaramakrishnan, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Commerce. The new protocol, according to the Union Commerce Ministry, extends the validity period of the common list under the agreement until March 31, 1988. The common list currently comprises 148 products, on which the three countries extend tariff preference to each other. The preferences agreed upon are expected to contribute significantly to expand the trade in these items. The meeting was also availed of by Mr. Sangma to have informal bilateral consultations on various issues of common interest. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 14 Mar 84 p 9]

**OIL, GAS STRIKES--NEW DELHI, March 14 (UNI):** Oil and gas have been struck at two new locations in onshore Godavari and onshore Gandhar in the Cambay basin of Gujarat, the energy minister, Mr. P. Shiv Shanker, announced in Parliament today. Members of both the houses greeted with cheers the announcement of these two important discoveries made in the last four days. Gas with condensate was struck at Bhimanpalli well, located about 60 km, south-east of Rajahmundry. This well, fourth in the island Godavari basin, gave a gas flow rate of 27,000 to 40,000 cubic metres during testing. Earlier, one well drilled at Razole and two at Narasapur had also yielded gas. Mr. Shiv Shanker said oil and gas had also been struck in commercial quantity at Gandhar, about 70 km. south-west of Baroda in Gujarat. Production of oil and gas condensate was 150 cubic metres per day along with 88,000 cubic metres of gas on the basis of a "short test." "This find is of great significance because it opens up large areas for exploration in the north-west of Broach block in Gujarat," Mr. Shiv Shanker said. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 15 Mar 84 p 9]

**MANIPUR MINISTER'S PLEA--NEW DELHI, March 13:** The Manipur chief minister, Mr. Rishang Keishing, yesterday demanded that the Centre should immediately declare the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) as an unlawful organisation--like the MNF in Mizoram--as a step to curb insurgency in his state. He said the NSCN posed the greatest threat to law and order in his state. It

was responsible for at least 30 murders in district Ukhrul alone. The latest was the murder of the former chief minister, Mr. Y. Shaiza. Mr. Keishing hinted at "political reasons" coming in the way of this organisation being banned, and also alluded to a neighbouring state interfering in the matter. Mr. Keishing also claimed, at a press conference here, that the liquidation of insurgent groups was important not only for his state, but for preserving peace in the entire north-eastern region. This was clear from the fact that in all the recent terrorist attacks in Assam, "Manipur boys" were involved. He warned that there was an attempt to export insurgency from Manipur to the adjoining states and this was being done through "Manipur boys," who had acquired skill in techniques of terrorist attacks. The chief minister said he had requested the Union home minister to restore to the state the Fifth CRPF Battalion which had been transferred to Issam during the elections. He also wanted permission to raise one more battalion of the state armed police.  
[Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 14 Mar 84 p 7]

LAOS AID REQUEST—NEW DELHI, March 6 (PTI): The vice-minister of foreign affairs of Laos, Mr. Soubanh Srithirath, today sought India's assistance in various development programmes of his country. "We need India's assistance in terms of material, machinery supply, expertise, and training of Laos personnel which cover various development programmes relating to agriculture, livestock, fisheries and forestry, rehabilitation and strengthening of agro industries and irrigation systems," he told newsmen. Mr. Srithirath was here to attend a seminar on "India--Indochina, perspectives of co-operation" organised by the Indian Centre for Students on Indochina, New Delhi and the Research Centre for Rural and Industrial Development, Chandigarh. Mr. Srithirath said his country was in dire need of water pumps for irrigation and was happy that India had agreed to provide it with such pumps. He hoped that the pumpsets from India would reach his country at the earliest. Mr. Srithirath said his country wanted to expand economic, political and cultural relations with India. "We hope that in the long run India could play a very important role in Indochina and South-East Asia", Mr. Srithirath said.  
[Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 7 Mar 84 p 9]

CSO: 4600/1663

# FRANCE, U.S. WARNED 'TO GIVE UP SUPPORTING SADDAM'S REGIME'

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 4 Mar 84 p 2

[Text] Tehran, (IRNA)--The spokesman for the Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Revolution of Iraq, (SAIRI) Hojjatoleslam Mohammad Baqer Hakim Friday warned the French government to give up supporting Saddam's regime otherwise they (Iraqi Moslems) would endanger all French interests throughout the world. He also warned the United States to take a lesson from its (US) defeat in Lebanon and not do anything that would repeat this experience.

Speaking prior to sermons at Friday Congregational Prayers at Tehran University campus Friday, he addressed the subservient regimes of global oppression who supported Saddam in his destructive war. He said that Saddam was falling and that they should give up supporting him. Otherwise he stressed the Iraqi nation would inflict harsh revenge upon those who have collaborated with Saddam and his regime for destroying Iraq's economic capabilities and manpower.

The spokesman further said that the Iraqi Mujahideen were fighting beside their Iranian Moslem brethren at all battlefronts and their request to the Islamic government was to arm especially the Iraqi revolutionary and Moslem tribal forces to overthrow Saddam.

Hojjatoleslam Hakim then laid stress on the duty of the youths, revolutionary and Moslem forces of Iraq to strike blows upon economic installations and political centers of the Iraqi Ba'athist centers of the Iraqi Ba'athist regime inside that country.

He stated that the Iraqi people welcomed Iran's decision to use reciprocal measures in response to Iraqi attacks on Iranian cities. He added that they (the Iraqi people) believed that this action should continue until Saddam regime's complete downfall.

Hojjatoleslam Hakim also made an assessment of the internal situation of Iraq and of the conspiracies devised by world oppression and its agents in the region to preserve the tottering regime of Saddam.

He expressed the hope that victory would be achieved soon by Moslems fighting for Islam. He also spoke on the conspiracies of global oppression in the

region against the Islamic Revolution. Here he noted that along with their subservient regimes in the region the oppressors had constantly embarked on new and devious stratagems aimed at countering the revolutionary and liberation movements of nations. He said that they tried to keep people away from politics and religion and had attempted to annihilate the genuine popular institutions.

They know well that if the connection between political and religious issues was maintained they would have no place in the region, he noted.

Hojjatoleslam Hakim said that Saddam endeavored to preserve his unstable government by creating panic and by frightening the Iraqi people. His terroristic acts include the execution of combatant theologians, destruction of hosseiniyehs (religious learning centers) and mosques and even the arrest and execution of relatives of combatant Moslems elements.

He added that Saddam has embarked on a bloody purge in order to remain in power.

The world powers and the reactionary regimes of the region, who have spared no help for Saddam during his imposed war, should, however, know that Saddam and his regime are falling and that the Iraqi nation would, after Saddam's overthrow, treat Saddam's supporters the same as him (Saddam).

CSO: 4600/428



PM MUSAVI: 'U.S. NEVER CAPABLE OF DIRECT CONFRONTATION WITH IRAN'

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 6 Mar 84 p 12

[Text] News Section of JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI

The seminar of governors general of the country, which has been held since Sunday in the Ministry of the Interior to study the various problems of the country, including the Majlis elections, continued its work yesterday. According to our correspondent, in yesterday's session, which began at 1500 hours, first, verses from the Koran were recited, then, Engineer Mir Hoseyn Musavi, the prime minister, spoke in detail in connection with the values of the Islamic revolution, the conspiracy of the superpowers and the duties of the authorities of the country.

#### The Prime Minister's Speech

He first referred to the presence of the people on the scene and the necessity of investigating their problems, especially those of the deprived people of the society, and said: To value the people, we must be fond of them. Thank God, since our officials have come from among the people, they are continually fond of them and support them. The issue of getting close to the people and feeling their pains must be repeated and emphasized and you must act on this principle in every situation.

Regulations, laws and various events should not create a distance between us and the pains and joy of the people.

We who say we are the followers of the imam's line, when we look at the life of the imam of the nation, we see that he has a special love and enthusiasm for the people and this is a lesson to us.

Dealing with the pains of the people cannot be a mere slogan, but we must believe and have faith that the people are the principle element in the country. We must know that the source of power of the Islamic Republic is the people. With the grace of God and the self-sacrifice of our martyr-nurturing people, the Islamic

Republic has been stabilized and no serious danger threatens it. We are now known worldwide as an independent, revolutionary country. It is the presence of the people on the scene that has solved all the problems thus far. If the people were not on the fronts and on the scene for one moment, the revolution would face defeat.

Now our entire country is a battle front. We would be unable to resolve the problems of the country with the power of the government alone. It is the presence of the hezbollah nation on the scene which affords the government the power to resist conspiracies and overcome problems. The power of the government stems from the power of the people. Every government in the Islamic Republic must believe that the source of its power is the people and should never forget this point.

#### Relation Between the Governors General and the Clerics

The prime minister then referred to the relations and coordination between the governors general and the clerics and said that the presence and mobilizing power of the clerics is effective in solving many problems. He said: The presence of the clergy is very effective in stabilizing and protecting our regime. The success of the governors general is bound to the cooperation and unity with the country. The governors general and the clerics must try to strengthen the stability of the regime of the Islamic Republic through cooperation and coordination.

Then, Mr Mir Hoseyn Musavi stressed that our regime is moving towards more order and referred to the treatment of the people by the officials as well as the necessity of the authorities living simply. He said: Your lives and behavior must be models for the society. The more the authorities of the country follow Islamic morality and values, the better able they will be to affect the people. You must pay attention to all the people. The issue is not merely that the authorities can make the oppressed people happy by getting close to them but that by carrying out the affairs of the oppressed, the revolution will be eternal. As soon as we lose our simplicity and good treatment of the people, the roots of corruption and decay will grow in the society. We must create a work environment in which everyone insists on justice and individuals criticize each other like brothers.

#### Shortage of Manpower

He emphasized that now that the political sovereignty of the government is expanding, there is a manpower shortage in the country, stating that we are faced with a shortage of faithful and committed manpower. He said: Today, one of the dangers which strongly threatens the Islamic revolution and the Islamic

Republic is the issue of the exclusion of faithful forces and the problem of following certain factions in the society. A person should never be dismissed because he does not follow our line. The continuation, God forbid, of such a policy in the country would be a great threat to the Islamic revolution. The officials of the country must follow the policy of the imam of the nation in dealing with the committed and expert forces.

In another part of his speech, Engineer Musavi explained the duties of the governors general and said: A governor general, as a high ranking representative of the government, must have a fatherly behavior towards all the people and should never discriminate even slightly against those who believe in various religions.

In conclusion, pointing out that the great powers have carried out much research in the past concerning the culture of the ethnic groups and nationalities of our country in order to dominate the Third World countries, especially Iran, he suggested that in this and similar seminars, the cultural issues of various nationalities be studied and discussed in order to reach a more correct policy in the area of the cultural issues of the country.

Our correspondent's report indicates that the prime minister then responded to the various questions of the governors general.

In response to the question of how he would evaluate the results of the Majlis elections, he said: In the people of our country, we see awareness, self-sacrifice, presence on the scene and belief in determining their own destiny. Hence, in addition to the government, the people will participate actively and in unity in the elections. We believe that if the next Majlis is elected by the nation, that Majlis will be strong and alive. In this connection, the duty of the governors general is very heavy. You must carry out the elections exactly in accordance with the election law and remain neutral in holding the elections.

Then, in response to the question concerning the adventurism of the superpowers, especially the criminal United States, in the region, the prime minister said: The Islamic revolution of Iran has now confused the great powers. For this reason, the United States and other powers have faced defeat in the region in implementing their policies. The Islamic revolution of Iran has changed the conditions of the region. The greatest objective of the United States by its threats is to turn the public opinion of our people away from our main issue, which is the imposed war, in order to prevent us from being able to strike our pounding blows against the falling regime of Saddam.

The United States has confessed that the victory of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the war would be harmful to it and that the victory of our regime would alter the political map of the region.

He added: The United States, for various reasons, will never be able to confront the Islamic Republic of Iran directly and if such should happen, it would receive a severe blow from our great and resistant nation.

10,000

CSO: 4640/156

VOA, BBC ATTACKED FOR 'UNDERPLAYING CHEMICAL BOMBINGS BY IRAQ'

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 5 Mar 84 p 2

[Article in the "Opinion" column: "Imperialist Media Underplays Chemical Bombings by Iraq"]

[Text] Tehran (IRNA)--On the verge of a crushing defeat in the Kheibar operational region on Monday, Feb. 27, the Iraqi forces once again resorted to chemical explosives, which use has been banned by international law.

Some 1,000 Iranians have suffered severe aftereffects of the chemical explosives and some were transferred to hospitals in various cities.

A group of foreign reporters visited a number of the wounded combatants in Tehran hospitals today and made reports and took photographs. A number of international organizations, including the International Red Cross, have also been invited to see the victims of the Iraqi crime.

Meanwhile, despite clear and undeniable evidence about Iraqi use of chemical bombs, which in the past Iranian operations, resulted in the launching by Iraq of such attacks upon a large number of civilians who suffered injuries as a result in rural areas, news media networks of the arrogant countries of the world have reacted heedlessly to these crimes and have not shown any inclination to expose such an important event. The most they have done is to report the news as a "Iranian claim" in between the news reports on the war.

Meanwhile the loudspeakers of the great Satan, the Voice of America, quoted U.S. state department spokesman in its Persian news service at 21:30 (Tehran local time) last week as saying that "the United States could not confirm Iran's allegations of the Iraqi use of chemical weapons" in the war.

CSO: 4600/429



IRAN

IRP ORGAN: 'PEACE WITH SADDAM IS WARRING WITH ISLAM'

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 6 Mar 84 pp 1, 12

[Text] In the name of God the compassionate and the merciful.

"If we were to retreat today, we would be defeating Islam . . . Today, we cannot have peace with them . . . They do not want peace; they are lying."

From the statements of the imam, 2 March 1984

Under the present circumstances in the world, it is a known international custom that whenever the Satanic powers are put in a weak position, they claim to be peace loving humanitarians and whenever they are in power, they seek to engage in extortion. The truth is that the world devourers can never be people of peace, because peace is contrary to their world devouring nature. They want temporary peace in order to regroup their power, and once they have done so, to engage in adventurism once again and follow their domineering goals. In the imposed war, whenever there is talk of peace, it should not be imagined that Saddam is on one side of the issue. Saddam did not start the war wittingly and by choice that he should have a choice in peace. Hence, as the war is against the Satanic powers, if we were to have peace, naturally, that peace would be with the Satanic powers. It is precisely for this reason that the exalted leader of the Islamic revolution has frequently emphasized that this is a war between Islam and heathenism. For this reason, if there is a peace, it would, in fact, be a peace between Islam and heathenism, and a peace between Islam and heathenism makes no sense. This issue was stated more emphatically by the imam of the nation in his statements the day before yesterday in a visit by the minister of the interior and the governors general: "Our war is a war between Islam and heathenism, not a war between two countries; it is between Islam and heathenism." He then concluded that any retreat from the conditions to end the war announced by the Islamic Republic of Iran from the beginning of the war, which it has believed in persistently and still does, and any sort of retreat or negligence in attacking the Ba'thist army would be a

step towards the defeat of Islam. The imam of the nation said in this regard: "If we were to retreat today, we would be defeating Islam . . . Today, we cannot have peace with them . . . They do not want peace; they are lying."

Therefore, whenever calculations are made to end the imposed war through ways other than suppressing the Iraqi aggressors, attention must certainly be paid this point. Our problem will not end with Saddam, but our main adversaries, the Satanic powers. Of course, Saddam is a war criminal who has consented to follow the instructions of his world devouring masters to the letter because of his thirst for power and he has committed unprecedented carnage and destruction. Certainly such a being must be punished, a punishment nothing short of death.

Those who believe that this war should end through peace must pay attention to this point above all else: Such a peace would not only mean reconciliation with a war criminal, but also this peace would mean the retreat of the Islamic Republic from clear and decisive Islamic principles. Islam maintains that peace must always be considered a principle and Muslims must protect peace, but a peace which is not contrary to the human dignity of Muslims and the protection of Islam. On the contrary, this peace would become a means for the enemies of Islam to regroup their power, to once again attack Islam with more preparedness and more experience, to increase the killing of Muslims, the destruction of their homes, mosques, schools and hospitals and to plunder their property. What religious rule would allow such a peace? Would the acceptance of such a peace not signify a kind of war against Islam, setting out to destroy it?

Those who believe in peace with Saddam and question the continuation of the war should refer to the Koran to realize that at times, by fighting one can achieve the kind of peace that Islam calls for. They should carefully study Verse 193 of Sura Baqarah, which states: Fight there in order to eliminate conspiracy and chaos. God's command is that in order to establish God's religion, which holds peace as one of its essential principles, Muslims must fight and eliminate conspirators and rebellious people. For those who want to see the implementation of God's rules and prefer God's contentment over their own, there is not a bit of doubt that fighting the supporters of Saddam is precisely acting upon this divine command and reconciliation with them would be like reconciling with the enemies of Islam, escalating conspiracy and chaos and preventing the implementation of God's injunctions. Hence, our duty is clear. There is only one way for the Islamic Republic, which is to continue the war to victory, and for Saddam as well there is only one way, which is death.

KHAMENE'I DISCUSSES WAR, IRAQ'S FUTURE, LEBANON, ELECTIONS

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 7 Mar 84 p 3

[Interview with President Khamene'i; interviewer, date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Please give us a picture of the operations of the Islamic combatants, their objectives and the general situation with regard to the fronts.

[Answer] On the whole, the situation with regard to the fronts is very good. We have faithful, patient and interested elements along the lines who are always ready for self-sacrifice. We have no problems in terms of mobilizing them for a total attack. On the contrary, we have problems holding them back until the war makes it necessary, because they pressure the authorities to be allowed to attack as soon as possible. With such competent forces, naturally, the situation on the fronts is to our advantage and it is very good from our point of view. On the other hand, the enemy has always had the problem of a shortage of manpower and will continue to have it.

The Future Regime of Iraq

[Question] It appears that the final victory of Islam and the fall of Saddam are approaching. Please give us a picture of the future regime of Iraq and the relations between Iran and Iraq under such a situation.

[Answer] One question concerns what we wish for the future of Iraq and another concerns how close to realization our wish is for us and the people of Iraq. In the first instance, I must say that we wish a government for Iraq which is both of the people and Islamic. Naturally, as a neighbor and an Islamic nation, we wish the best for Iraq and picture the best regime and government, but by no means are we trying to impose our will on the people of Iraq. What is most important for us is that the situation be created by the people of Iraq, not imposed on them, one in which there are no deceptions or groups, factions and

personalities and one which the general policies of the region and the globe have no role in creating. This is our wish and we believe that, God willing, this will happen.

But, as for how close that future is, in my opinion, this cannot be predicted precisely, because the establishment of such a regime is not based merely on the fall of the present regime in Iraq but on other factors as well. Of course, the victory of the Islamic army will be a great factor in the fall of Saddam and will provide a sound foundation for the establishment of a government by the people. Although what has traditionally happened in Iraq has been the overthrow of the military governments by the military, it seems unlikely that after these events and after Iraq's military defeat by us the military forces in Iraq would have such political influence and ability to take charge in Iraq on the political scene and to implement a military scenario. Nevertheless, we cannot predict precisely that after the fall of Saddam, the people's Islamic forces will come to power and will immediately establish a people's Islamic government. This depends on the supreme Islamic revolutionary assembly and all the people's Islamic forces which place importance on the destiny of Iran and are interested, especially those elements which are in Iraq at the present time, both in prisons and outside. It depends essentially on whether the great masses of the people of Iraq think this issue is important enough to self-sacrifice for it and to invest in it.

From one perspective, the future of Iraq is clear to us. That is, we believe that the form which we have imagined will come to Iraq, God willing. The form is certain, but we cannot predict when Iraq will achieve it.

In any case, I can make one point, which is, after the fall of Iraq's regime, no other government which is not supported by the people, regardless of what power assists it, will be able to continue in Iraq. In other words, even if in the first phase, the people of Iraq are unable to bring their desired government to power and the people are deceived by policies, such deception and imposition will not last long and will soon be disrupted.

#### Heightening of Islamic Movements

[Question] How would you evaluate the heightening and expansion of Islamic movements throughout the region? Could you explain the mission of the Islamic Republic of Iran as the pivot and center of Islamic revolution with regard to them?

[Answer] It is evident that Islamic movements are expanding as well as deepening. This has not only been the case since the revolution; for perhaps 100 years, Islamic movements have been started in the region. Our revolution and our constant victories



since the establishment of the Islamic Republic have given these movements more hope for a brighter future and more velocity. But Islamic movements have existed in the region and will exist in the future and they cannot be eliminated by the ideas of the great oppressive global powers. That is, it cannot be supposed that today, Islamic movements in Morocco, Egypt or other places can be suppressed and destroyed. This will not happen. Islamic movements are a new, decisive, certain emergency condition for the Muslim nations resulting from their return to their Islamic selves and to the Koran, which demonstrates their frustration with the domination of foreigners. As long as they have not returned to Islam and the Koran, have not returned to themselves and have not been liberated from the domination of foreigners, this increasing progress towards self-awareness will exist. Of course, our revolution plays a great role in this case.

Concerning that part of your question regarding what role the Islamic Republic can play, the Islamic Republic can play an indirect role, which, in our opinion, is more important than a direct one. In other words, the existence of the Islamic Republic is an experience for them.

I have not forgotten what one of the well known Egyptian writers wrote. He is one of the old intellectuals, a pioneer in Islamic awareness, whose books have been translated into various languages, books with substance. He says: For Islam to appear on an island in some corner of the world would be the best propaganda for Islam. We are now that island, not in a corner of the world, but in the four corners of the Middle East, and we are located at the most strategically sensitive military, economic and political point in the world. We have become an experience. The fact that the Islamic Republic and our revolution have become an axis is the greatest indirect propaganda for Islam and indirectly aids these movements.

#### Direct Interference

But, in regards to direct aid, it must be noted that we absolutely will not give direct aid to movements in terms of interference in countries, in keeping with the Constitution. Of course, we respect nations, awarenesses, and any sort of progressive movement in the world, but not in terms of direct contact with a group in a country in order to help them or to force them to change their regime. The Islamic Republic has a policy of not supporting such acts and whatever is said about us to the contrary in this regard is untrue. Through the spread of our Islamic culture, which is the culture of the present regime, we are able to give depth to Islamic ideas. You can see that publishing a book or setting up a discussion session, a seminar, a congress, or a world conference can have an impact.



Publishing a scholarly research article offering new and innovative views in regards to Islamic issues, such as those of martyr Motahhari, which are abundant, can bring the Islamic world much closer to Islamic awareness and deep enlightenment. We are engaged in such efforts and we will continue them. This is spreading Islam and propagating Islamic culture. This is our duty and we are not concerned with confronting any regime or system directly. We propagate Islam and if propagating Islam is detrimental to any regime, so be it; we will not turn away from it. Therefore, our most important aid is indirect and only secondarily through directly giving depth to Islamic views and ideas.

#### The Role of the Islamic Republic in Lebanon

[Question] Considering the significant victories of the party of God and the Islamic movement in Lebanon, it is expected that the Islamic Republic will play a more active role in helping expedite and conclude the situation in Lebanon. If possible, tell us the position of the Islamic Republic in this connection.

We are active in regards to the problem of Lebanon. We consider ourselves as having a share in and an opinion involving the problems of Lebanon. Lebanon is an Islamic base and there is a determined, strong, Islamic majority of about two-thirds in that country who have rarely been taken care of. Of course, the largest minority there consists of Shi'ites. That is, the Shi'ites are larger in number than both the Sunni brothers and the non-Muslims, which is why we will have an effect in regards to Lebanon, especially given the fact that the Muslim people of Lebanon believe in, rely on and have placed much hope in the Islamic Republic. Hence, fortunately, we are active and, by God's grace, we will continue this activity. Naturally, our activities in Lebanon are within the framework of international possibilities and laws.

[Question] Considering what you have said in response to the previous question, the question is: What is the situation of the more or less military presence of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Lebanon?

It must not be forgotten that the issue of Lebanon is very much intertwined with the problems of Israel and the problem of Israel evokes an Islamic mandate for all Muslims. Anyone who thinks the Palestinian issue is an issue exclusively for the countries in the region or only for the Arabs is very much mistaken. We share as much in that issue as other Islamic countries. But why others do not do their duty is another issue. We wish to act even insist on acting upon this duty to the extent that we can. Of course, our strong military interference in this issue will come when we have ended the problem of Iraq and this war. But, what

has occurred so far is a follow-up of what we have done in the past years. When the Israelis and the Jews interfered in Lebanon pressuring the people, we considered it our duty to help the people of Lebanon to a certain extent to resist Israel.

Our presence there is in the service of the people of Lebanon to fight the Zionist occupiers, since the Muslim people, who are in the majority, have been under pressure.

#### Prevention of Migration of Villagers to Cities

[Question] Considering the detrimental effects of the migration of villagers to the cities, what attempts have you made to prevent it and to improve the situation with regard to the villages and helping the farmers and what directives do you have to eliminate the existing situation?

[Answer] This is a question that we are constantly asking the government, both the Ministry of Agriculture and other sectors related to the villages. We believe that if the necessary services for villages are carried out, the primary effect will be to slow down the migration of the villagers to the cities and the secondary effect will be the economic development of the country and agricultural self-sufficiency. If villagers have roads, electricity and agricultural resources, if they have water and the various services which exist in the cities and are needed in the villages, they will not migrate to the cities and the work force will not turn into a consumer force, which is itself greatly detrimental to the country, and they will not be perplexed and confused, which is a problem for them. Hence, our most important proposals and views are given to the government and the executive authorities frequently and certain decisions are being made so that these essential services can be offered to the villagers as soon as possible.

#### There Must Be Popular Elections

Considering the importance of the second term elections which are approaching, tell us your opinion in regards to holding them as effectively as possible.

In my opinion, the directives of the imam in his historic message of 11 February clarified the most important point in the elections and solved the most important problem of the elections. If the people of every electoral zone alone take part in determining the nominees and all the people of that area participate and cooperate in this affair, the elections will be carried out in a desirable way and the Majlis will be a good people's Majlis. Hence, we have resolved the issue both in the Tehran clerical society and also in the Islamic Republican Party. In other words, we announced that those who are waiting

throughout the country for our opinion should not wait any longer. We will have no opinions, other than involving Tehran. The people of Tehran and the other cities and electoral zones should give their opinions. If the elections become elections of the people and for everyone and this is coupled with precise conformity to election regulations--which have been determined as piety, political awareness, correct Islamic views, being an expert in one area in which legislation is required or being a religious jurist, being aware of the problems of the country and having a good reputation among the people--if these requirements are met, we believe that the elections will be better than even the first term elections.

### The Necessity of Administrative Revolution

[Question] After five years since the victory of the revolution, there are still signs of discontent on the part of patrons and the self-sacrificing people in regards to some administrative offices, both in terms of meddlesome regulations and the behavior of officials. Do you have any measures in mind for an overall administrative revolution? What are your directives in connection with improving the existing situation?

[Answer] The issue of change in the administrative system is one of our greatest problems and I must say that it is one of the most difficult as well. Building, operating and organizing manpower is much more difficult than such things as building, operating and employing consumer items and raw materials for production. In the short run, it is impossible to change the administrative offices. Of course, there are good, faithful, self-sacrificing and very revolutionary elements, but there are also those who do not possess such standards or possess very little of them. Just one of the latter group can make the work of a hundred good people negligible and have a great deal to do with making the people pessimistic.

We have constantly insisted on telling the organization of administrative and employment affairs to offer proposals for the organization of the Islamic Republic which are the new administrative and employment regulations as soon as possible and we have even persistently told the organization of administrative and employment affairs to cooperate with the Majlis from the beginning in preparing such a system and not to create problems in the Majlis later on, as there have been in similar cases. In other words, we wanted to make use of two intellectual resources in that unit, the government and the Majlis, to carry out this task. Our brothers in the organization of administrative and employment affairs, who are faithful, agreed to do so and have started it. But this is a difficult task requiring perseverance and determination by the government, a duty which we hope our brothers in the government will carry out with determination and perseverance.

ECONOMIC POLICY CRITICIZED AS RESULT OF POOR PLANNING

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 9 Feb 84 p 3

[Editorial: "What Kind of Development Is This?"]

[Text] Following a meeting of the National Economic Council chaired by President Mohammad Ziaul Haq, an alarming aspect of the national economy emerged, according to details reported by the federal minister for planning and development, Dr Mahbubul Haq: agricultural production has declined to some extent. We are facing a 40 percent drop in the production of cotton, and a 5 to 7 lac [500,000 to 700,000] ton decrease in wheat production. Similarly, the production of lentils has also declined due to bad weather; to meet this shortage, lentils worth 280 million rupees will be imported. To import cotton, 820 million rupees of foreign exchange has been earmarked. A 10-percent increase in the inflation rate has been recorded. This National Economic Council review poses a bleak economic situation. There is no doubt that natural and agricultural factors are also responsible for this situation, but there is a need to review these flaws and poor planning, which have caused skyrocketing prices in the country. The president has issued some directives to meet this situation. These directives should be implemented, but the most important point is that the government should restrict the import of food grains so that the situation, like the recent onion shortage, will not be repeated. On one hand, the nation is overburdened by foreign loans; on the other, price hikes have adversely affected the poor. What kind of development is this? Some planners are commended while the rich get richer, the poor, poorer. A just Islamic economic system is invisible. Has the National Economic Council ever considered these matters?

12601

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# PROPOSAL FOR HALF-NOMINATED ASSEMBLY CRITICIZED

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 7 Feb 84 p 3

[Editorial: "Democracy and 50-Percent Nomination?"]

[Text] The chairman of the Ansari Commission has termed objections to the commission's report is superficial, and he said that those who have raised objections have not read the report carefully, otherwise they would not have raised such objections. Among other things, he mentioned in his report one objectionable point that is not even worth considering; no democrat would care to listen to it. We are referring to his statement in which he said that half of the assembly members should be nominated. By way of further explanation, he said that half of the provincial and federal assembly seats should be allocated to laborers, doctors, writers, industrialists, professors, economists, businessmen, lawyers, scholars and other professionals to reduce the influence of landlords and capitalists in the country. It is surprising that at this point, with the 20th century nearing its end, this ridiculous proposal concerning the nomination of half of the representative assembly members should be advanced.

It is true that some eligible and ingenious people remain aloof from national politics due to their specific preoccupations, and they are cut off from the masses. However, nominating them to the representative assemblies is not the proper way to utilize their capabilities. Their proper place is in the Senate, not the representative assemblies, according to the democratic rules practiced in some other countries. Another factor worth considering is that we have to look for a hundred persons to be nominated in a provincial assembly, which has a total strength of 200, for instance. This is a clear indication that the voice of half of the assembly members will be dominated by other members nominated by the government. This does not accord with democratic practice by any yardstick. As we have mentioned above, people who do not want to participate in elections, or whose financial position does not allow them to do so, could be represented in the senate, which is the proper place for them. Another advantage of the senate is that every province has equal representation, whether it is a majority province like Punjab or a minority province like Baluchistan. People of different professions and interests can adjust only in the senate, where they can guard their interests. They will not be accepted in the representative assemblies, nor will they gain any mass support.



We sincerely advise Mr Zafar Ahmad Ansari to take this proposal of half nomination and half representation back. However he may emphasize the Islamic character of the candidates, suggest conditions for their suitability and adopt democratic methods, his proposal will not be accepted by the political parties or the people; rather, it will be ridiculed and these assemblies will be termed a mixed breed. If Mr Ansari thinks that the nation, which has accepted a 100-percent nominated Majlis-i Shura, would also accept 50-percent nomination, we are forced to remind him despite his old age and experience, that democracy is based on representation and the rule of the people and not on the singing of one person's song.

12601

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# INDIRA, RAJIV GANDHI ADOPT WAR-LIKE POSTURE

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 8 Feb 84 p 3

[Editorial: "War Is Your Need"]

[Text] Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's son, Rajiv Gandhi, who gained extraordinary prominence recently in Indian politics in a short span of time, has revealed in an interview with a British newspaper that Pakistan is preparing to attack India within a year. Obviously, this attack will be on occupied Kashmir. He referred to the deteriorating situation in occupied Kashmir in an effort to make his unrealistic revelation appear to be a factual statement, and he accused the puppet chief minister, Farooq Abdullah, of encouraging pro-Pakistan and anti-India elements in the state.

This revelation of Rajiv Gandhi is not new. For some time, the Indian prime minister has continuously been saying that Pakistan is amassing heavy weapons and has turned its guns toward India. For the past few months, this propaganda of the Indian ruling junta has gained momentum. As the Indian elections draw closer, the Indian Congress is trying to prove by building up a threat from Pakistan that the success of Indira Gandhi and her party is imperative for the security and integrity of India. On the other hand, disorder, dissatisfaction and violence prevail in every part of India today from Punjab to Assam. Separatist movements are becoming stronger in different parts of the country. In this situation, Pakistan is the only easy target for the Indian Government to distract the Indian masses from internal matters.

India attacked Pakistan in 1971 after creating a similar situation. The Indian prime minister then had issued sharp statements along the same lines. Now, more practical measures are being taken by the Indian Government, going beyond the verbal statements. Kunwar Natwar Singh, secretary, India's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, threatened severe consequences when Pakistan cancelled the visas of two Indian Airlines employees this week for violating the country's laws. Consequently, the visit of the Indian Information Minister Kar Kishan Lal Bhagat to Pakistan was postponed.

In a similar manner, on the pretext of "Ganga" aircraft hijacking, Indian air routes were closed to Pakistan in 1971. Moreover, the kidnaping of an Indian diplomat in Birmingham has been linked to Pakistan. And now Rajiv Gandhi has said openly that Pakistan is going to attack occupied Kashmir. In this inter-

view, on the one hand Rajiv Gandhi built up the danger posed by Pakistan for his masses, and on the other he tried to malign the chief minister of occupied Kashmir, Farooq Abdullah, who has been an obstacle in the way of Indian Congress designs.

We consider it unnecessary to explain the objectives behind these constant Indian accusations, because the masses of the subcontinent have been aware of this Indian attitude for the last 36 years. Even within India a large section of thoughtful people understands the designs of the Indian ruling junta. They know that whatever Indira Gandhi says reflects her aim to worsen conditions in the subcontinent. In our opinion, the recent trends in Indian politics are alarming for the present Indian rulers. The law-and-order situation in East Punjab and Assam has been seriously undermined. Many provincial chief ministers of India, including Farooq Abdullah, have formed a united front in Calcutta against the injustices of Indira. They think that the Indian Government is plotting to topple their governments.

In these circumstances, talk of war is a political necessity for Indira Gandhi. When she and her associates accuse Pakistan, they reveal their own plans to divert the attention of their people from poverty and oppression to an imaginary threat from Pakistan and enable Indira to survive the elections safely. The Government of Pakistan should be alert to these changing conditions. Borders can only be defended if the army pays full attention to defense, relieving itself of administrative responsibilities. The war-loving Indian leaders may take practical steps that go beyond verbal statements.

12601

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GHEE MILLS NOT TO BE DENATIONALIZED

Karachi MORNING NEWS in English 4 Mar 84 p 8

[Text] Lahore, March 3: The Federal Minister for Industries, Mr Ilahi Bakhsh Soomro, today said that the government industrial policy was to promote investment by the private sector and attract foreign investment in the country.

Talking to newsmen here, he said that his Ministry had submitted its industrial investment schedule to the Planning Commission to encourage the setting up of agro-based and engineering industries, import substitutions, transfer of technology and downstream projects of steel mills.

In reply to a question, he said that there was no truth in the reports that the government was planning to denationalise ghee mills. There was no such thinking in the governmental quarters, he added.

Regarding the injurious effects of the palm oil, he said that in fact the private sector was importing palm oil in "sterin", form which was injurious to health. While, he added, the nationalised ghee industry was importing it in oil form.

In reply to a question, he said that if the private sector wished to import corn oil in the country, the government would have no objection to it.

CSO: 4600/420

SCIENCE POLICY ANNOUNCED, SELF-RELIANCE STRESSED

Karachi MORNING NEWS in English 6 Mar 84 pp 1, 10

[Excerpt] Islamabad, March 5: The National Science Policy announced here today provides for a high-powered commission for science and technology to be headed by the country's chief executive to function as an apex decision making body for science and technology.

Announcing the National Science and Technology Policy, the Adviser to the President, Dr M. A. Kazi said at a crowded Press conference here today, the commission would provide leadership and guidance in the development of strong well-integrated system of science and technology and its development for rapid socio-economic progress.

The commission will be concerned with the broad policy matters and laying down guidelines for specific action in important areas of the science and technology sector.

He said the policy had a special emphasis on the measures to achieve greater self-reliance in the development of technological capability.

The policy recommendations ensure attractive pay-structure and working conditions for the scientists for utilising their talent in the country.

World Centres

The Adviser said it was recommended in the policy that the isolation of the Pakistani scientists and technologists from the world centres of knowledge should be alleviated by providing adequate opportunities for close international liaison.

Pakistan should actively contribute to the strengthening of the Islamic Science Foundation for building up centres of excellence and superior institutions for advanced training and cooperative research on common problems.

He said that science attaches should be appointed in the embassies of Pakistan in certain advanced countries like USA, UK, China, Japan, France and USSR.

He said active cooperation with the developing, especially the Muslim countries should be developed in the field of science and technology.



TRANSPORT PROJECT FOR KARACHI SUBMITTED TO WORLD BANK

Karachi MORNING NEWS in English 6 Mar 84 p 8

[Text] Hyderabad, March 5: The Sind Government has submitted a two-billion rupees project to the World Bank for augmenting the transport system in Karachi.

This was stated by Mr. Dost Mohammad Faizi, Sind Minister for Transport, while speaking at a seminar on "Development of Transport and Communications in Sind" here today.

Mr. Faizi said that the project envisaged purchasing of 300 buses, setting up bus depots and workshops, building overhead bridges and widening main roads.

He said that due to increase in population and sprawling of Karachi city, the public transport had assumed greater importance. In view of this the Government was paying special attention to solve this problem, he added.

The Minister said that at present, 800 buses were plying in Karachi and shortly 150 new widebodied buses would be added to this fleet. Similarly 30 new buses would be added to 450 buses in the interior of Sind.

Referring to the point raised during the question-answer session, Mr. Faizi said that the Government transport had been running in loss due to over-employment in this sector. But now the position had as changed now only seven persons look after the operation of a single bus which had curtailed the expenditure. [as published]

He disclosed that during the last three years, the Government Transport Service had saved Rs 85,00,000 and hoped that the situation would continue to improve in the years ahead.

The Transport Minister also invited private transport owners to come forward to play a positive role. He said that for this purpose they would be given all facilities and incentives, but not at the cost of public convenience.

Referring to the issue of route permits for the whole of Pakistan from any one province, he said that he agreed with this proposal and added that all the provincial transport bodies could meet and solve this issue in the interest of public.--APP

CSO: 4600/420

## BRIEFS

**NEW CEMENT DEVELOPED**--Lahore, March 5: Dr. Khalid Farooq, a renowned Pakistani scientist of Pakistan Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (PCSIR) laboratories, has successfully developed a rapid hardening high strength cement, "fast-fix cement". Talking to APP, Dr Khalid Farooq said that this new kind of cement had been formulated on the basis of home-bred research carried out at the laboratories in the country within a short period of two years. He said that a major component in cement was gypsum which was freely available, as plenty of gypsum deposits were found in the country at different places. Dr Farooq said that the cost of new cement was comparatively three-times more than ordinary cement because the typical application was much more superior from every aspect of building construction material being used in the country. He said that "ordinary cement plaster mostly becomes dry and free from moisture after a period of minimum three days while this new cement has the quality of removing the moisture within a short time of half an hour. Dr Khalid said that this cement had already been tested in the laboratories as well as used successfully in construction. This newly developed cement will prove to be a triumph and a milestone in the history of building material. It will immensely help the Government and non-Government departments for construction of buildings.-- APP [Text] [Karachi MORNING NEWS in English 6 Mar 84 p 8]

**CONCERN OVER UNSOLD COTTON**--The General body meeting of the Pakistan Cotton Ginners Association yesterday expressed its concern over the stagnation of a huge stock of unsold 5.19 lakh bales in the ginning factories. Presided over by Khwaja Mohammad Masoon, Chairman of the Association of the meeting called upon the Government to defer the import of cotton bales unless and until all available cotton bales were lifted by the textile mills. After this final settlement of payment could be arranged by the ginners and also bank advances could be adjusted. The meeting said if the Government felt that textile mills were not in a position to lift the bales, the Cotton Export Corporation be directed to purchase all the unsold stocks of cotton from ginners at the prevailing market rates. This was necessary to save the cotton economy from falling in abyss of economic jeopardy. According to the latest survey made on factory by the association the total arrivals were 24,97,689 bales in ginning factories up to March 1, 1984 out of which the textile mills have lifted 18,11,796 bales, while the cotton Export Corporation has purchased 1,67,175 bales and still 5.19 lakh bales are lying unsold. Out of 649 ginning factories 169 factories are still operating.

The final figure will be made by the end of this month, which will probably be the last figure of the season. [Text] [Karachi MORNING NEWS in English 8 Mar 84 p 3]

KARACHI AIRPORT FIRE INVESTIGATION--A four-member team set up to investigate the causes of fire in the Karachi airport terminal building on Feb. 20 last has so far recorded the statements of 40 witnesses to the incident. Brig. Khalid Mahmood, who is heading the investigation team, told APP yesterday that he and his other three colleagues had also heard testimony about the blaze from another 25 persons, who were present at the airport at the time of the fire. He hoped that the investigation team would complete the process of recording statements from witnesses to the fire by March 10. Any member of the public who is in possession of some knowledge about the fire and has not yet recorded his testimony should contact the investigation team, which is holding daily sittings at Karachi airport, Terminal one, he added. Brig. Mahmood said that after hearing all the witnesses to the fire and recording the relevant statements, the investigation team would study the entire evidence and then set about compiling its report. The final report of the investigation team will be handed over on completion to the Deputy Martial Law Administrator, (DMLA), Karachi. Brig. Mahmood said obviously no statement would be made at present about the causes of the fire, in which the Terminal one international departure and transit lounges were burnt. The other three members of the investigation team are: Group Captain J. A. Carapite, Lt.-Col. Mohsin Akhtar Rizvi and the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Malir, Mr Shafiq Ahmed. [Text] [Karachi MORNING NEWS in English 8 Mar 84 p 3]

CSO: 4600/420

SRI LANKA

BRIEFS

PREMADASA ON TERRORISM, DRUGS--Prime Minister Premadasa yesterday emphasized nonviolence, unity, discipline, and faith as the main factors with which the threat of terrorism could be overcome. He also pointed out the necessity for convincing the people of the ideals for the cause of humanity in order to find a solution to the threat of terrorism now facing the country. Addressing the seventh annual general assembly of the National Council of YMMA [Expansion unknown] at Maligawatta yesterday, the prime minister also said that Sri Lanka is a small country which is not self-sufficient in every aspect. Therefore, it was not possible for the country to be divided into various factions. He also said that separatism was not the only solution to the ethnic or racial problem. [Text] [BK281222 Colombo International Service in English 1045 GMT 28 Mar 84]

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